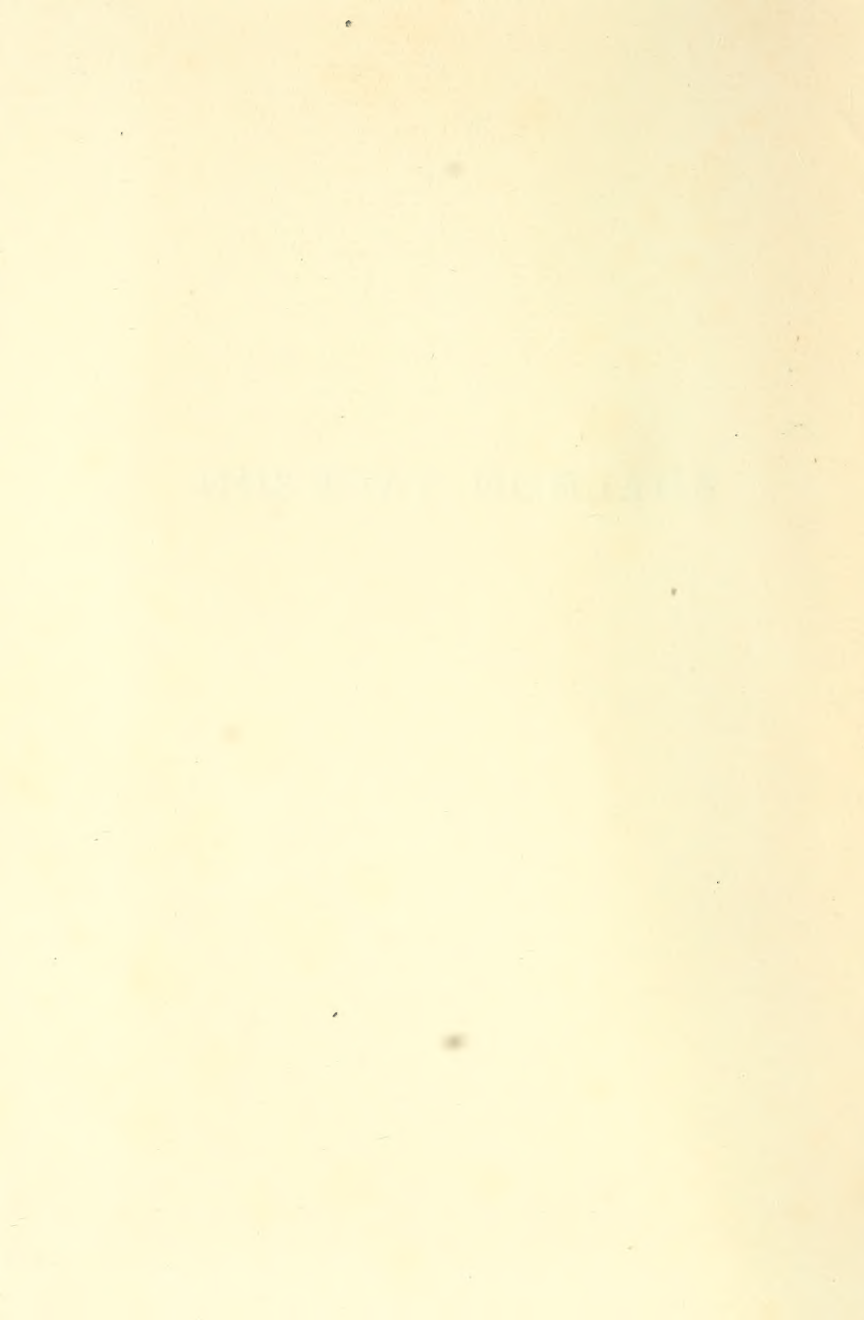


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SHELDON JACKSON





SAMUEL CLINTON JACKSON AND FAMILY. 1858.
Sheldon. Louise. Mrs. Sheldon Jackson.

SHELDON JACKSON

Pathfinder and Prospector of
the Missionary Vanguard in the
Rocky Mountains and Alaska

By
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University, Pa. Author of "The Land of
Israel" and "Memorable Places Among
the Holy Hills"*

ILLUSTRATED



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“When the future historian writes the religious annals of this backbone of our continent (the Rocky Mountains) he will give the foremost place to Sheldon Jackson, the pioneer of the cross.

“I had rather have his record than that of the most brilliant scholar in our great pulpits of the East.” : :

—*Theodore L. Cuyler.*

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INTRODUCTORY

THE latter half of the nineteenth century was preëminently the golden age of opportunity and achievement in the "winning of the West."

During the half-century which preceded this period, the United States, by purchase, by conquest and by diplomacy, had acquired a magnificent domain of virgin territory, which extended from the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean and the shores of Puget Sound. Into this "New West," then an unknown and almost uninhabited land,—a land of mystery and desert solitudes and deadly perils—a few resolute settlers had gone, following the trail of the hunters and trappers, in the stirring days of "the forties." Up to the middle of the century, however, there were very few, even of the most adventurous of these forerunners of civilization, who had any adequate realization of the vast extent and boundless possibilities of this princely heritage.

The discovery of gold on the Pacific coast in 1848 was a divinely ordained event which directed the attention of the whole nation to the Far West, and suggested to the men of action and intelligence, whose faces were steadfastly set towards it, the possibility of an overland route to the goal of their ambition on the Pacific slope.

Such a way, blazed for them in part by the expedition of Fremont, was made over plain and mountain and desert: and although beset with hardships, difficulties, and perils, which to us seem almost incredible, it was followed by eager prospectors for almost a decade, with scarcely a

thought concerning the boundless wealth and resources of the vast stretches of uninhabited land through which they were so laboriously journeying. In the year 1859, a few grains of glittering gold were found in the bed of a stream near Denver : and, as the news of the discovery spread abroad, there was a wild rush of adventurers to this new El Dorado, whose only designation for a time was the indefinite term Pike's Peak. Towards this objective point they struggled and fought their way, and then scattering to right and left explored every valley and canyon and mountain peak, near and far, in their eager search for gold.

When at length the varied resources and boundless possibilities of mountain and plain throughout this immense and singularly diversified land began to be known and developed, the restless explorers and prospectors were quickly followed by a resolute, ever-growing host of hardy pioneers who came with their wives and little ones to occupy and possess it. It has been said with truth that "nothing is more sublime in history or more divine in Providence than the movements and migrations of men that have made or do make up the nations of the earth." Granting to each of these great historic migrations its full measure of influence and importance, it may be confidently asserted that the greatest and most significant of all was the resistless tide of immigration which swept across the Mississippi River, and thence onward in ever-increasing volume, for more than a generation, until it had reached as its utmost bounds the border of "the Great Sea." This was the last migration of its kind as well as the greatest, for here the farthest limit of "the westward course of empire" on the habitable portion of the globe was reached.

View it from whatever standpoint we may, there is something indescribably grand in this steady and long-

continued march of civilization. It is a matter of record that immediately following the completion of the first transcontinental railway, the national advance on our western frontier, *along the whole line* from British America to the Gulf of Mexico, was not far short of sixteen miles a year. Some conception of the significance of this advance may be obtained from the records of the Land Office in Washington City for that period. During one of these memorable years (1874-1875) over 10,700,000 acres passed from the possession of the government into private hands. In this allotment, averaging 160 acres to each settler, nearly 70,000 farms—the equivalent in extent of three states the size of Massachusetts—became in a single year the property of the men who had seen a vision of the coming days and linked their destinies with the discoveries and developments of the regions beyond.

To meet the spiritual wants of these rapidly forming settlements, and to anticipate the evil influences which were ever present in force, and ever active in their midst, was the work of the home missionary,—the evangelist of the frontier—and never, perhaps, in the history of the Christian Church, was an emergency so pregnant with influences for good or evil, more promptly and courageously met.

Much has been written in praise of the pathfinders, the pioneers, the prospectors and preëmptors of the New West, who, with compass and pick, axe and rifle, prepared the way for the coming hosts, and laid the foundations of a great and ever-growing material civilization: but, as yet, scant justice "has been done to the work and memory of the "pioneers of the cross," who, unmindful of the glamour of the gold which glittered beneath their feet, or the wild rush for sites of untold prospective value in rapidly growing towns or mining camps—held steadily to their purpose to win this magnificent empire to Christ:

and so to make it the home of a free, God-fearing, intelligent and law-abiding people.

The annals of the home mission work of the Presbyterian Church during this eventful period are full of thrilling incidents of sublime faith, unswerving fidelity, and heroic achievement. Among the leaders of this missionary vanguard were "men of renown" such as Marcus Whitman, George F. Whitworth and A. L. Lindsley of Oregon, Lewis Hamilton, the pioneer preacher of Colorado, David Lyon of Minnesota, Lancet G. Bell and A. K. Baird of Iowa, John W. Allen of Missouri, Henry S. Little of Texas, Thomas Frazer of the Pacific coast, Timothy Hill of Kansas and the Indian Territory, and Sheldon Jackson of the Rocky Mountains and Alaska. To these men of rare ability and discernment, who by a Divine selection and ordination came to the front, as occasion demanded; and to others of their kind, who afterwards stood in their lot and completed their work, the Presbyterian Church is largely indebted for the prominent place it holds to-day in the vast and rapidly developing region west of the Mississippi River. In the face of difficulties and discouragements, which to men of weaker faith seemed to be insurmountable, they "carved presbyteries out of the wilderness and erected synods before the foundations of civil governments were laid." They went out with the hardy self-reliant pioneers in the forefront of the "far flung battle line" of the great army of occupation; and not infrequently some of them were found a long way in advance of it, with the scouts and adventurers, the prospectors and miners, on the outmost verge of civilization, amid the rough, incongruous element of the trading-post, the cowboy town, or the mining camp.

In the preparation of this work, which deals with the life and eminent service of the most widely known and highly honoured of these frontier apostles, no pains have

been spared to make it a complete and accurate history of the man and his times. It is the story of a busy, adventurous, and singularly romantic life, more wonderful in its details and actual experiences than any of the fancies which give life and colouring to the works of fiction.

In this undertaking the writer has had the coöperation and hearty approval of Dr. Jackson and his family, who have placed at his disposal all the data in their possession, including official records of his work, journals, and memoranda of daily events, and the voluminous correspondence of nearly fifty years. He has also gathered from the personal statements of more than one hundred of his former associates and fellow labourers who are still living, much valuable material which has been woven into the body of the work. To all these stores of helpful information may be added the personal impressions which have come through comradeship, for a time, at the front, as well as through an unbroken interchange of friendship and sympathetic interest for a period of more than thirty years.

An earnest effort has been made to secure photographs of the men associated with Sheldon Jackson in the "Acts of the Pioneers" and the author takes pleasure in presenting to his readers so large a number of those who were at the front in the sixties and seventies. There are many more, however, whose photographs could not be secured, who are equally worthy of recognition and honour. To guard against a wrong impression attention is called to the fact that many of the photographs secured for this work give the likeness of men much farther advanced in years than those who laboured with Dr. Jackson during the period above mentioned.

I

ANCESTRY—BIRTHPLACE—EARLY DAYS

“The history of a man’s childhood is the description of his parents and environment.”—*Carlyle*.

SHELDON JACKSON was well-born and well-reared. From his ancestors he inherited an accumulated store of the “blessings of the righteous,” and throughout the formative period of his life he enjoyed the inestimable advantages of a refined Christian home, in the midst of a quiet, well-ordered, and intelligent community. His grandfathers were men of ability and influence in the neighbourhood in which his youthful days were spent, and took a prominent part in the affairs of Church and State.

His paternal grandfather, the Hon. Samuel Jackson, was born in England and came over to the United States in the last decade of the eighteenth century. He settled in Montgomery County, N. Y., where he was married to Miss Louise Heyer, an accomplished lady of American birth. His business ventures proved to be very successful, and he was called to several offices of honour and trust. He was a member of the state legislature for five terms, a committeeman at the inaugural celebration of the completion of the Erie Canal; a lieutenant-colonel during the War of 1812, and, later, a colonel of the 188th Regiment of the State Infantry. In the neighbourhood where he first cast his lot Samuel Jackson spent the whole of his active business life, and was held in high esteem as a trustworthy leader and wise counsellor. He died, April 12th 1845, at the age of ninety years.

Alexander Sheldon, M. D., his maternal grandfather, was graduated from Yale University in 1787 and from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1812. He found a desirable place of settlement in or near the village of Charlestown, Montgomery County. Here his ability and worth as a skilled physician and a safe leader in the local and political movements of the times were quickly recognized. He was a member of the legislature for eight terms, speaker of the Assembly for five sessions ; a regent of the New York State University ; judge of the county court, and a delegate to the Convention of 1821 for the revision of the State Constitution. He died at Charlestown on the 10th of September, in the seventieth year of his age. The Sheldons and the Jacksons, whose homes were only a few miles apart, had many interests in common, and the intimacy which had grown up between them was strengthened and made more enduring by the marriage of Dr. Sheldon's daughter, Delia Sheldon, to Samuel Clinton Jackson, December 19, 1832. It seemed fitting also that the first-born of this happily united pair, should receive in baptism and by hereditary succession, the name—Sheldon Jackson.

Samuel Clinton Jackson was born June 17, 1807. After he had completed the ordinary course of studies in the public school he was sent to the celebrated Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, at Troy, N. Y. His natural bent was in the line of mechanical pursuits, but the business which his father had carried on for many years required his attention, and, eventually, at the completion of his college course, he became his successor. After his marriage, Mr. Jackson lived in the house which his father had occupied at Minaville, and here, on the 18th of May, 1834, Sheldon Jackson was born.

The village of Minaville, which for a time was not distinguished by name from the township in which it is

situated, lies in a little green intervale on the southern border of the Mohawk Valley. The "Chuctanunda," a rippling stream from the adjacent hills, whose name recalls the days of the Indian occupation, flows through the town and contributes its quota to its picturesque setting. A good macadam road connects it with Amsterdam on the north side of the Mohawk River, some five miles distant. This is its nearest outlet to the great thoroughfares of travel and commerce, which in this vicinity keep close to the banks of the stream. Isolated from the noise and distractions of the busy outside world, Minaville has long been a tranquil, restful retreat, where much of the simple life and unconventional ways of the former generations have been retained. A local chronicler has aptly described it as "a place so quiet and peaceful that one might easily imagine it the happy valley of Rasselas." There is certainly but little in the place or its surroundings to suggest the beginnings or after developments of a notably strenuous life. For a century or more, the little town, almost hidden from view by its overshadowing trees, has held its own in the struggle for existence; and while its houses are still few in number they represent the better class of village homes in an intelligent and prosperous community.

The former home of the Jacksons, which belongs to the business section of the place, is a well-preserved, substantial house, unpretentious in appearance, but evidently one of the best of its class at the date of its erection. From this building, which one day was found to be on fire, Sheldon Jackson was carried out, while a babe in arms, to a place of safety. Happily for all concerned, the fire was extinguished before it had done much damage. Soon after this event, Mr. Jackson removed his family to Esperance, a prosperous village in the Schoharie Valley, about ten miles south of Minaville. At that time,

Esperance was favourably situated on the great thoroughfare, or toll road, between Albany and Buffalo ; and the main object of the removal was to secure a better location for the business in which Mr. Jackson was engaged. A notable feature of the village, which at the present time has a population of about six hundred, is the broad avenue, flanked by a double row of elms and maples of mature growth and magnificent proportions, on which most of the buildings are located.

Esperance was originally a Huguenot settlement, and from the first the leading church of the place was Presbyterian. The settlement dated from the year 1711. The substantial stone church which occupies the site of the older houses of worship was built in 1827. This building is in a good state of preservation and its interior has recently been remodelled and beautified. It stands, almost alone, upon a commanding eminence above the town. From this standpoint the gleaming waters of the Schoharie are visible for several miles up the beautiful valley.

Three important events, closely related to all that was good in the after-life and development of the boy Sheldon, took place during the residence of the Jackson family in Esperance. One was the birth of his sister Louise, the playmate, inseparable companion and clear-headed counsellor of his youthful days. Another was the public confession of faith in Christ made by his parents in connection with the Presbyterian Church. The first to take this step was Mrs. Jackson, who united with the church during the ministrations of the Rev. B. H. Pitman, December 23, 1837. A few months later Mr. Jackson was received into the same communion. From this time onward the word of the Lord was the law of the household, and all its affairs were ordered in cheerful obedience to its requirements. The third event, which followed as a natural sequence, was the public dedication of the chil-



1. Sheldon Jackson's birthplace. 2. Presbyterian Church of Esperance. 3. Farmhouse. Home of his childhood and youth. 1840-58.



dren of this household to the Lord and His service, in the ordinance of Christian baptism, on the 11th of December, 1838.

If this had been merely the formal service of "Christening," with which some parents seem to be content, it would not have been deemed worthy of notice in this connection.

To this young couple, however, who had first, and so recently, given their own selves to the Lord, it meant a virtual surrender of their offspring to His service, as real, and sincere and unreserved as that which Hannah made when she presented her first-born child before the Lord at Shiloh. It was a dedication to *service* in the House of the Lord, and in this thing, in after years, the desire of their hearts was granted. At this time Sheldon Jackson was four and a half years old ; and the fact is abundantly attested that, in connection with this sacramental service, he was solemnly dedicated by his parents to the office of the gospel ministry. From that day until the day of his ordination to this holy office by the presbytery of Albany, in 1858, neither he nor his parents had any other thought than that he was to be a minister of the Gospel. With this was associated also the hope and expectation that he should be called to a life of service in the mission field. The consciousness that he was set apart to this holy mission was an ever-present incentive to duty in his youthful days and, as he himself affirms, was, doubtless, one of the most potent influences in restraining him from boyish follies and excesses.

On the 26th of June, 1839, Samuel C. Jackson was unanimously chosen to the office of ruling elder in the church of Esperance, and in the following month of September he was ordained and installed. This office, which he filled with ability and conscientious fidelity for many years, brought him into close relations and active sympathy with the wider fields of Christian work and inten-

sified his interest in all that related to the extension and progress of the Church at home and abroad. During his term of active service he was frequently chosen as a commissioner to the General Assembly and always took a lively interest in the questions which came before it for discussion or settlement. He was a Presbyterian of the most decided and unwavering type, but he had charity sweet enough, and broad enough, to recognize and approve that which was good and commendable in those, of other views or denominations, who might disagree with him. In the community where he was best known, as well as in the places where he spent the later years of his life, Mr. Jackson was honoured and beloved by old and young for his gentleness of disposition, kindness of heart, and unobtrusive goodness.

In his home life, and to a great extent also in his public life, Mr. Jackson was helped and stimulated to higher endeavours, by the wise counsels and wholesome influences of the gifted woman to whom, in early manhood, he gave his heart and hand, and with whom he was privileged to live, in the closest of all human relationships, for more than fifty years. "It has been often remarked of him," says a correspondent of the *Evangelist*, "that he was equal to a co-pastor in the efficient aid he rendered the minister in charge; but his efficiency in the Church was greatly augmented by the sympathetic interest of his wife, who in the fullest sense of the Scriptural designation, was 'an helpmeet for him.'"

A few years after his settlement in Esperance, Mr. Jackson's health became so seriously impaired by the close confinement of the store, that he gave up mercantile business and took charge of an old homestead farm in Florida township, to which his father had retired several years before. The removal of the family from Esperance was probably in the spring of 1840, and at

this time the boy Sheldon was about six years of age. In the management and improvement of this valuable landed estate, which passed into his hands at his father's death, Mr. Jackson found congenial work and, at length, greatly improved health.

The old homestead or manor house, which was erected by Samuel C. Jackson's father, has been modernized in some respects, but its main features have not been materially changed. It is admirably located, on a slight rise, or knoll, by the edge of a picturesque little glen, which is bordered on the side next the house by a massive stone wall. Like most of the New York country homes, of the better class, it is a white frame house, large, roomy, symmetrical in outlines and complete in all its appointments. Two widely-spreading horse chestnuts shade the lawn in front and graceful elms droop their branches all around it. It was not a home of luxury, in the sense in which that expression is used to-day; but it was a "house of plenty," where orchard, garden and farm yielded their choicest fruits, and flowers bloomed in great profusion under the touch of skillful, sympathetic hands. In this home of comfort and refinement, amid the fresh, wholesome influences of country life, Sheldon Jackson grew up to the full estate and vigour of manhood. While giving most of his time to study, he helped in the morning and evening chores, and as he advanced in years took a hand in the general work of the farm in leisure hours of the summer vacations. During the whole of this period, covering a stretch of eighteen years, the Jacksons retained their connection with the little mission church at Esperance, ten miles distant, and regularly attended its services. The road to this distant sanctuary was rugged and exceptionally hilly. In the spring and fall it was seldom free from mud and ruts; in the summer, it was rough and stony, and in the winter the exposed places

were frequently blocked for weeks with the drifting snows. Notwithstanding these formidable obstacles, the journey was made back and forth, week by week, with wonderful regularity. It is a matter of record that the villagers within two blocks of the church door were not more regular in their attendance at the morning service than the entire Jackson family. From personal recollections, Dr. Jackson has given the following description of these extraordinary Sabbath-day journeys:—

In the short days of winter on Sabbath morning the chores were done, preparations made, and breakfast over before daylight. The team was hitched up, buffalo robes, blankets and straw, with the necessary axe and shovel were placed in the sleigh; and as the family locked the doors and went out from the house they carried with them the lunch-basket, and a three-inch oak plank, or soapstone, that had been heated in the oven of the stove, to keep their feet warm. On these ten mile trips, going and returning from church, it was not an uncommon occurrence for the sleigh to upset, or the horses to get down in the snow. In such case, a buffalo robe would be spread on the snow upon which would be placed the mother and daughter. Then while the son was stationed at the horses' heads the father would loosen the traces and right the sled or help up the team. Frequently, on these occasions, a panel would be broken out of the road fence with the axe and a path shovelled through the drifts into the neighbouring field, where the sled could make progress parallel with the road, until a place was reached where the drifts were passable.

When, after experiences such as these, the village was reached and the team put away in a barn, Mr. Jackson would shovel the path for the villagers from the street to the church door, heat and ventilate the room, and finally ring the church bell. At the close of the service, lunch was served from the well-furnished basket; and as soon as convenient thereafter, the family returned to their home, completing their twenty mile ride after dark.

When the conditions were favourable, the time on the road was sometimes utilized by the mother in questioning the children in the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly. The courage and persistency shown in these tedious and long-continued journeys are suggestive of the quality and texture of the moral fibre which was inwrought into the character and life of the pioneer missionary of later days. With a view to extending the privileges of the Gospel to those who were in his immediate neighbourhood, Samuel Jackson established a midweek prayer-meeting and a monthly missionary meeting, which were held, in turn, in two or three of the most centrally located farmhouses. These meetings, which were attended by the young people as well as by the older persons, were successfully maintained during the entire period of Mr. Jackson's residence on the homestead farm, and resulted in much good to the community.

Mr. Jackson's children were but a short distance from the school building of the district and were favoured in having teachers of exceptional character and ability. One of these who had charge of the school for several years,—James Elder by name,—was a devout Christian of the Scotch Presbyterian type, and exerted a wholesome influence in the neighbourhood, as well as upon the young people under his immediate care. From early childhood the country lad of our story was familiar with the events connected with the border Indian wars of the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys; and the life and missionary labours of David Brainerd and David Zeisburger among the Indian tribes of these valleys had for him a singular fascination, which no doubt had its influence in determining the bent of his after-life. Aside from the works to which he had access on these themes, his principal reading was in Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," Washington Irving's Works, some of Scott's Novels, the

Philadelphia *Presbyterian* and the *Home Missionary Magazine*, which at that time was published jointly by the Boards of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches.

Amid such influences and surroundings,—healthful, refining, stimulating and uplifting,—the boy Sheldon grew in years and knowledge; and began to see visions and dream dreams, relating to the great world and its possibilities, beyond the confines of the narrow valley in which his lot was cast.

II

PREPARATION DAYS

Academy—College—Seminary

“There is no road to success, but through a clear, strong purpose.”

—T. T. Munger.

IN the fifteenth year of his age, Sheldon Jackson was sent to an academy of note at Glen Falls, N. Y. During the year which he spent in this school (1848–1849), his pastor at Esperance, the Rev. Saunders Diefendorf, D. D., removed to Haysville, Ohio, and took charge of a Presbyterian Academy on the outskirts of the town, which under his administration became one of the famous preparatory schools of its day, in the region west of the Alleghenies. To this school, with a view to coming under the care and influence of a tried friend and able instructor, the lad was transferred in the fall of 1849. On his arrival, he was received into the home of Dr. Diefendorf and was treated as a member of his family. Here he continued his studies until he was far enough advanced to enter the sophomore class at college. “During this period,” says the Rev. Isaac M. Hughes, of Richmond, Ind.—one of his esteemed fellow students—“young Jackson was diligent, painstaking, and conscientious as a student, giving close attention both to his class-room and religious duties; and was withal a most delightful companion and schoolmate.” In the autumn of 1852, he was matriculated as a sophomore at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. The seat of this justly famed institution, now Union University, was within easy reach of

the Jackson home, and during the three years which he spent within its walls he kept in close touch with the members of his own family circle and the friends of his childhood days. "As I remember him," writes one of his classmates, David Little, M. D., of Rochester, N. Y., "he was a sober-minded lad, giving close attention to his college duties. He stood well up in his class, being accorded a place as a speaker on commencement day. Since our graduation, fifty years ago, I have seen little, but have read and heard much of him as a missionary in the Far West and a pioneer in Alaska. In college he was called a 'plodder' by some of the students, but he plodded then and has plodded since to good purpose."

In the nineteenth year of his age,—October 1, 1853—Sheldon Jackson was received into the full communion of the church in which he had been dedicated to God in infancy. The desire to make this public avowal of allegiance to Christ had long been cherished in his heart, but hitherto he had repressed it for lack, as he supposed, of sufficient evidence to justify the claim that he had experienced a genuine, or radical, change of heart. There was nothing in his own personal experience, so far back as memory could go, to correspond with the conversion of Saul of Tarsus or the jailor of Philippi, and hence he did not feel that he had a clear title to a place at the Lord's table. While in college, under the ministry of Dr. J. Trumbull Backus, he was shown the true ground of the Christian's hope and confidence, as distinct from modes of conversion or extraordinary experiences attending conviction of sin; and was encouraged to assume all the duties and privileges of the Christian disciple. In after-years, speaking of his boyhood and judging it from his maturer knowledge of the operations of grace in the heart, he asserts that he could not recall a time when he had not believed in Jesus and sought to honour Him;



ASSOCIATES AND HELPERS.

(For names see Appendix, page 479. Group 1.)



when he had not struggled against sin and had not lived a life of prayer. With the settlement of this question he joyfully accepted the full responsibilities of discipleship, and at once became active and alert in improving opportunities for service and especially in seeking to win souls to Christ. Three months later, in great measure through his influence, his only sister (Mrs. George Norcross), united with the church. In the years of preparation following, several of his cousins and young friends were influenced by him to accept Christ, or to take their stand among His professed disciples. Among these was a college friend who was led by him into the kingdom and the ministry; and another, also, of whom mention shall be made hereafter, who in the closest and most sacred of human relationships has for half a century shared in his toils and rejoiced in his triumphs.

At this period of his life, as well as in later days, the desire to win souls to Christ seems to be uppermost in his thoughts and interwoven with all his plans for the near as well as the more remote future. It was also his desire, and avowed purpose, at this time to devote his life, if the way should be clear, to the work of missions in the foreign field. With this in mind, he lived and laboured throughout his entire course of preparatory studies.

Meanwhile, he was faithful in the discharge of present duties and was ever ready to assist in the work of Christ during the vacation seasons at home or in the associations with which he was connected in the college and seminary.

With respect to physical culture, young Jackson lacked many of the opportunities and qualifications which, at the present time, are supposed to be essential to the development of a strenuous life. Athletics of the modern "frenzied" type had no place on the grounds, or in the discipline of the college, in his day; and, outside of the professional boxing-ring, public sentiment had not given

its approval to contests for championship only, in which the strong ruthlessly trampled down the weak and the watchword was *victory at any cost*.

A popular writer, whose latest works are eagerly read by old and young, has described in intensely realistic fashion the modern conception of a typical missionary evangelist of the western frontier. In his college days, he is introduced as "a big man, gaunt and bony, with a mighty pair of shoulders, topped by a square, massive head, on which bristled a veritable shock of yellow hair, —a man who seemed too large to be ignored and too unwieldy to be readily adjusted to the niceties of society ways." This man, the pride of the first eleven of his college and the "great centre" of the "varsity phalanx," wins the championship of Canada on a hotly contested football field, emerging from the struggling mass of his opponents "a ghastly, bloody, fearsome spectacle." On the frontier, this man of might and muscle, who in his youthful days had also learned the tricks of the boxers and the twists of the Japanese, wins admiration and converts, on one occasion by flinging an obstinate cowboy over his head into the dust ; on another by carrying a drunken doctor in his arms, whom he had kidnapped in his helpless imbecility, to see a patient who needed surgical care ; and, on still another occasion, by courageously closing with three desperate men in a scuffle over one of their victims in a gambling saloon. With these extraordinary gifts and accomplishments this typical missionary of the frontier combines, except in moments of unusual provocation, the gentleness of a child and the tenderness of a woman with his great strength and unquestioned courage.

In this fancy sketch, which has in it enough of praiseworthy sentiment and sober truth to fascinate and thrill the most unsympathetic and antagonistic of its critics,

there are but few elements which correspond with the life and eminent service of the hero of our matter-of-fact story. During his school-days he was a lad of slight build, physically small, a sufferer at times from poor health and weak eyes; and, by temperament and conscientious scruples, averse to all that was rough and demoralizing, whether in sport or in sober earnest. He had no training in the "manly art of self-defense," and his fitness for service did not depend upon any extraordinary manifestation of physical prowess, or development of physical culture, in the days of his youth. "For amusement," he says, "we played baseball, pitched quoits, and in winter coasted down the hills, when we were boys; but I never had any special training or practice, or was I ever present at a match game between parties from different places." In later days, he learned to suffer and endure for the Gospel's sake, and this had its reflex influence in the development of a hardier constitution and a more rugged frame; but in the conflict for mastery over the allied forces of evil in the mining camp and on the frontier the weapons of his warfare were not carnal. The triumphs over which he now looks back with joy, were not won by the arm of flesh. In the fortieth year of his unique and wonderfully varied missionary service he was briefly described in a local newspaper item as:—"Short, bewhiskered, and bespectacled. By inside measurement a giant." On one occasion, it is said, a presiding officer mistook a Tennessee missionary of similar name for Dr. Jackson, and introduced him as our "stalwart friend from the Rocky Mountains." When the little doctor mounted the platform the smiles were audible, and he naively remarked: "If I had been more stalwart in height, I could not have slept so many nights on the four-and-a-half foot seat of a Rocky Mountain stage." This inheritance, says the writer of the in-

cident, has no doubt helped him to be what a stage-driver styled him :—"the hardiest and handiest traveller of his acquaintance."

In the spring of 1855, Sheldon Jackson was graduated at Union College, and in the autumn following entered upon his course of theological studies at Princeton. Here he identified himself more closely with those who had the mission field in view, and in the weekly prayer-meeting, especially, did he come into close fellowship with a notable band of missionary enthusiasts and heroes, whose names are familiar to-day in all the churches.

Among these were David McGilvary, the veteran missionary among the Laos, Samuel Rankin Gayley, who went to his reward from China, Charles Roger Mills, who spent nearly a half-century in China, Jonathan Wilson of Siam, Augustus Broadhead, who gave his life to India, Robert Hamil Nassau, the veteran missionary of Africa, Ashbel Green Simonton, who gave the Gospel to Brazil ; and a still larger number who established churches in the wilderness and on our western frontier.

Mr. Jackson was received under the care of the Presbytery of Albany at its spring meeting in 1856, and spent part of the summer vacation in canvassing from house to house in Montgomery and Schenectady Counties, N. Y., as a colporteur under commission of the Board of Publication. In this work he learned much of the world and of human nature, and found the undertaking, as a whole, much pleasanter than he had anticipated. In one tour of eighteen days he disposed of two hundred and twenty-five dollars' worth of books. He had frequent opportunities to preach the Gospel while engaged in this work, and, although he was not formally licensed, he regarded his commission from the Board as broad enough to cover the ground. On the 13th of July, 1856, he preached his first sermon in the Dutch

Reformed church at Auriesville, Montgomery County. His text,—“The love of Christ constraineth us”—has been the key-note of his life-long ministry, which in its public manifestation may be said to date from that day. In this service, as he intimates in his diary, he was not nearly as much embarrassed as he expected to be. “One lady fell asleep during the discourse,” but to offset this there were several who afterwards commended the sermon and encouraged the speaker. At the outset of this summer’s work he decided to set apart one-fifth of his commission for the sale of books to the benevolent agencies of the Church, but at the close of the season he reconsidered this decision and devoted one-half of it as a thank-offering to God for His goodness and preserving care.

On the 14th of May, 1857, Jackson was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Albany. This service was held in the Second Presbyterian Church of Amsterdam, N. Y. Four days later, he was appointed an agent of the American Systematic Beneference Society, located in Philadelphia; and with his usual energy entered upon the work which had been outlined for him by this association. Its object, as indicated in his commission, was “to present the cause of Systematic Beneference by addresses to public assemblies, by holding conferences with pastors of churches and friends of Scriptural liberality, and by such proper additional methods as may be most feasible; also, to collect funds for the work of the society and transmit the same to the treasurer.” Among the leaders of note in this movement which was undenominational in its constitution and sphere of operation, were Mr. M. W. Baldwin, President; George H. Stuart, Vice-President; and Thomas Cooper, its Secretary. Sheldon Jackson was the first agent appointed by this society. In the three months in which he was engaged in this

work, he conferred with seventy-five ministers and addressed fifty-three congregations in the leading cities between New York and Leavenworth, Kansas. On one occasion, as the record shows, he visited ten pastors on Saturday and on the following Sabbath filled four appointments,—*viz.*, at 11 A. M. ; 2 P. M. ; 4 P. M. ; and 7 P. M.,—in the churches of four different denominations. This vacation experience proved to be a very helpful one in connection with the after-labours of Sheldon Jackson, and it brought him into close touch and intimate relations with some noble men and women of means and generous impulses, to whom he could appeal with confidence when face to face with the exigencies and extraordinary demands of his great life-work.

The autumn of 1857 was a time of unusual interest in missionary and evangelistic work. The breath of God's Spirit had quickened the hearts of multitudes in every part of the land. Houses of worship were crowded daily with earnest worshippers and anxious inquirers, and prayers were going up spontaneously from city and village and hamlet from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was the beginning of the wonderful revival, known as "The Great Awakening." The hearts of many had been touched also by the martyrdom of eight beloved missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in India, a few months before, and by reason of this fiery trial the whole church had been brought into deeper sympathy and closer relations with those who, in the face of peril and suffering, represented them in these far-away lands.

On his return to the seminary, in the month of September, Mr. Jackson came more directly within the range of these influences, and entered with hearty enthusiasm upon the double work of winning souls to Christ and alluring recruits to the little band of devoted men who were already committed, by covenant engagements,

to go to whatever part of the world-wide mission field God in His providence should direct them.

With the confident expectation of spending his own life in the foreign field, he gave much of his spare time to the reading and distributing of missionary literature, to public services in the interests of mission work, and wherever he had the opportunity brought his personal influence to bear in behalf of this cause. A noteworthy incident relating to this period of quickened activity was given by the Rev. Dr. George W. McMillan, President of Richmond College, in a remarkable address made by him in support of the nomination of Dr. Jackson as a candidate for the office of Moderator of the General Assembly.

"About forty years ago," said Dr. McMillan, "it was my high privilege to sit in the chapel of Princeton Theological Seminary on the Holy Sabbath and listen to Dr. McGill, that eloquent pulpit orator, deliver a masterly sermon on the subject of missions.

"In the course of his argument, the Doctor seemed to be inspired, and, looking right down on us students, he thrust forward his hand and said: '*Young man, if you can't be first, be foremost!*' After the service was over, a young man who sat by me in the chapel—a pure, heavenly-minded, consecrated young man—came into my room and said, 'That was a very excellent sermon to which we listened this morning.' 'Very fine' was the reply. 'But, McMillan, did you notice that sentence?' 'What sentence?' was the answer. '*Young man, if you can't be first, be foremost!*' '*I can't be first, I will be foremost!*' That young man was Sheldon Jackson." As a matter of fact, he lived and laboured in the spirit of this injunction. In the race set before him he was not always first, but he was never a laggard. In the conflict he was always at the front with the advance guard, or on the skirmishing line.

On the 7th of December, 1857, Sheldon Jackson addressed the following letter to the Board of Foreign Missions :—

*To the Executive Committee of the Board of Foreign
Missions of the Presbyterian Church.*

SIRS :

In accordance with your usage, I hereby offer myself as a candidate for the foreign service. My age is twenty-four. As to my education, I have passed from the common school through the academy and college (Union) to the seminary. My employment when out of school has been farmer and carpenter. As to health, I was completely prostrated three years ago; having naturally a strong constitution I think that at present I have nearly regained it. I united with the church in 1853. Immediately upon experiencing the love of Christ in my heart my mind was made up to be (D. V.) both a minister and a missionary. It was to the mission service I was dedicated in infant baptism and I see no reason why I should withhold myself. At first, my attention was directed to the home mission field. For the last three years, however, it has been turned to the foreign service. This desire has gradually increased in depth and strength as I have examined the subject and become in some measure acquainted with the religious aspects of the world.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) SHELDON JACKSON.

*Theological Seminary, Princeton,
December, 1857.*

In this communication there is no suggestion with respect to any special field of labour, but it appears from intimations elsewhere given that Mr. Jackson's preference for work in Syria or Siam, and later for an appointment to Bogota, in South America, could not be considered because of the report of his examining physician, who declined to recommend him as a fit subject for work in the foreign field. "They thought I was not strong," he says, in reply to the question of a reporter, "but I had

an iron constitution, with the exception of dyspepsia." Quoting this, a writer in *The Forward* adds: "When one thinks of the great army of dyspeptics who excuse themselves from duty because of their malady, this sentence seems humorously heroic."

In accepting his services, the Board, apparently for the reason above given, limited his field of labour to the Indian tribes within the territory of the United States. The reply was as follows:—

*Mission House, New York,
December 28, 1857.*

REV. SHELDON JACKSON,

MY DEAR SIR:—Your letter of 22d instant was duly received, and was to-day laid before the committee. The letter from the brethren of the Albany Presbytery was satisfactory, and you were appointed, with entire unanimity, a missionary of the Board. Your field among the Indians was not designated, nor at present can we say where the first vacancy will occur. The Ottoe Mission has been assigned to Mr. Guthrie, who, with his wife, expect to set out as soon as the travelling opens. As you will not be ready to set out before June, the way may be perfectly open before that time, and we will keep you advised of anything that occurs, having a bearing on this question.

I am, dear sir,

Affectionately and sincerely yours,

(Signed) WALTER LOWRIE,
Secretary.

With respect to this action the author of "The Rainbow's End"—Alice Palmer Henderson—writing some years ago, makes the following comment:—

"I think that the Board would be rather surprised to see him now, after forty years of service, compared to which Siam would have been 'carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease.' He can endure more hardship, travel, hard work, and exposure this minute than half the college foot-

ball players, and he looks ten years younger than his sixty-four years."

About two months afterwards,—February 27, 1858—Mr. Jackson was notified that he had been commissioned for work among the Indians of the Choctaw nation; and assigned to a vacancy in the mission school for boys located at Spencer, in the Indian Territory. There were some things connected with this appointment which were not entirely satisfactory to this ardent young missionary, who longed above all things else to preach the Gospel, but the closing of other doors and the providential opening of this one among the heathen of his own land, seemed to be the answer to his prayer for Divine guidance. Hence, he accepted the appointment without questioning, and began at once to adjust his plans for the future in conformity with this decision. On the 27th day of April, he was graduated from Princeton Seminary, and on the evening of the same day he left for home. The farewell address to the class was made by Dr. Phineas D. Gurley, of Washington City, and his tender, earnest words made a deep and abiding impression upon the young men of the class of 1858, who went forth on that day from this school of the Prophets to their several fields of labour in the home field, and in far-away lands beyond the seas.

One week later, May 5th, Jackson was ordained as an evangelist by the Presbytery of Albany. At this service, Dr. Eliphalet Nott, President of Union College, presided and offered the ordaining prayer. Dr. W. S. Sprague preached the sermon and the Rev. Charles H. Taylor gave the charge.

On the 18th of May, the twenty-fourth anniversary of his birth, Sheldon Jackson was married to Miss Mary Voorhees, at the home of the bride, scarcely two miles distant from his own ancestral home. The marriage was solemnized by the Rev. John Clancey, pastor of the Dutch

Reformed Church, Minaville, in the presence of a select company of relatives and personal friends. Thus by a happy conjunction three of the most important events connected with the closing days of this preparation period took place within a limit of less than one month, the two last named being in the flowery month of May.

III

THE CHOCTAW MISSION

“Man proposeth, God disposeth.”—*Herbert.*

IN the early days of the settlement of the West, the work of evangelizing the North American Indians, in so far as this was attempted, was carried on exclusively through the agency of the Board of Foreign Missions. The stations to which its missionaries were sent were usually on reservations, remote from civilization, and virtually outside its pale. Within the limits of the Indian Territory, the largest of these reservations, there were motley groupings of Indians, representing several of the aboriginal confederacies and tribes of half-breeds of various shades of colour ; and also of negroes, who were held as slaves. The mission to which Jackson was assigned was in the reservation of the Choctaw nation, at the southeast corner of this territory. Its residents were nominally Christian, and at this time they administered their own affairs, and, to some extent, supported their own churches and schools.

From St. Louis, the gateway to the vast and as yet undeveloped region in which this station was located, was a tiresome journey of not less than two weeks. The route was partly by river and partly by public or private conveyance, over roads which at all times were a menace to safety, and frequently were almost impassable.

There was little of romance, and much of self-denial and self-effacement connected with this isolated homeland mission, more remote from the haunts of civilization, in

point of time, than any of our mission fields in Syria or South America at the present ; but the call to labour in it was accepted by Mr. Jackson and his bride without question as the call of duty, albeit with shrinking.

In the wonderful arrangements of God's providence the bent which was given in this direction, as the result of that acceptance, led ultimately to a greater and more widely-extended work for the long neglected Indian tribes west of the Mississippi, from the borders of Mexico to the dreary wastes of the Arctic circle in far-away Alaska. Looking backward, a connection may be traced between this limited phase of the work under the Foreign Board and its later developments under the fostering care of the Home Board, for here at least the terms are convertible, but he to whom the leadership was given, knew nothing of this at the first and was himself led in a way which he knew not.

The summer of 1858 was one of the few care-free vacation periods which Sheldon Jackson enjoyed before or after he entered upon his strenuous life of missionary service. During his college and seminary course his vacations were for the most part mortgaged to some special cause or agency in advance ; and the recreation feature except as it was found in change of occupation, seemed to have but brief space, by previous arrangement or in actual experience, in any of them.

A carefully-planned wedding journey, which included in its round New York City, Portsmouth, Va., Washington, D. C., Mount Vernon, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and West Point, occupied, in very agreeable fashion, the first fortnight of this well-earned interval of leisure. Five or six weeks following were given to brief visits among relatives and friends, and to such final arrangements as were necessary for the westward journey.

As the result of a tour of exploration to the West and

Southwest in the preceding year, Mr. Jackson's parents had decided to remove to Galesburg, Illinois, where a place of residence had been secured in anticipation of the removal of the family after the ordination and marriage of their son. It was arranged also that the young couple should make this new home the first stage in the westward journey. In accordance with this arrangement, they left their kinsfolk and comfortable homes in the Mohawk Valley on the 19th of July, and set their faces towards the new life and experiences which awaited them in the valley of the Mississippi and the "regions beyond."

At Niagara Falls, they met the rest of the Jackson family and journeyed with them to Galesburg. Here they remained, making many pleasant acquaintances meanwhile, until the 16th of September, when they left for Spencer, by way of Quincy and St. Louis. The first Sabbath of the journey was spent at St. Louis. On the Monday following, they took passage on a boat, going down the river, for Napoleon, Arkansas. At this point, a transfer was made to a smaller steamer going up the Arkansas River. Little Rock, the terminus of the route by water, was reached September 27th; and here connections were made with a stage line to Washington, Ark. This was the end of all public accommodations, and Mr. Jackson was obliged to secure a private conveyance to Spencer, 120 miles distant. The following extract from a letter, written by Mrs. Jackson after her arrival at Spencer, gives in detail some of the peculiar experiences incident to this long overland journey:—

"At Little Rock we took the stage for Washington. We were two days and nights reaching that place, and had most wretched fare offered us by the way, for which we paid fifty cents each. I very often did not eat at all. At Washington, the hotel was most shocking. If the floor in the room we occupied had not been so dirty we

would have preferred it to the bed. All the furniture the parlour contained was a carpet and looking-glass, two or three chairs, and when meal-time came they took the chairs out of the room and we must needs stand or sit on the floor, which I did to the astonishment of the natives. We had some difficulty in procuring a hack to bring us to Spencer. We finally made arrangements with a man and started about 4 P. M. The next day we rode ten miles, getting lost on the way. That night we put up at the house of one of the better class of people, and had good accommodations and a comfortable night's rest. The next morning we started and found that one of the horses was lame, but supposed that it would get better after a little while, but it grew worse and we were obliged to travel slowly. When we had travelled about twenty miles, the tire came off one of the wheels. As there was no blacksmith's shop near it was fastened as well as was possible under the circumstances, and we endeavoured to reach a small town ten miles distant where we could have it reset; but night overtook us before we reached it, and the roads were so bad that it was almost impossible to travel after dark. That night we put up at a place where we preferred to sleep on the floor. The next morning the lame horse was unable to travel and half the day was lost in procuring another, and in repairing the damage to the carriage. This being Saturday, the detention was particularly unfortunate as we wished to reach Mr. Byington's mission to spend the Sabbath. Night overtook us eighteen miles from this station, and we stayed until Monday with a man by the name of Peguis. About 2 P. M., on Monday, we reached Mr. Byington's and took dinner. Mr. and Mrs. Byington are pleasant old people. Both have been sick this summer. Monday evening we arrived at a place called Depot. Here it was worse than ever. We had to share our room with the driver and some oth-

ers, and the bed was alive with bugs. We thought the wagon preferable, and slept in that the next night."

On Wednesday, the day after the experience noted above,—October 6, 1858—Mr. and Mrs. Jackson arrived safely at Spencer and were warmly welcomed by their associates in the mission. In the school, as organized at this time, there were three departments, designated as the Primary, Second and Third. In each department there was a male teacher and a female assistant who looked after the wardrobes of that section and, in so far as was possible, kept each article of apparel in good order. In the assignment of duties for the term the Rev. Mr. Frothingham, Mr. Jackson's ministerial associate, was given the temporary charge of the institution, it being at that time without a superintendent, and the new missionary and his wife were assigned to the third department, which included the largest and most advanced boys of the school.

With his usual alacrity and energy, Sheldon Jackson entered upon this service. In a few days after the opening, he had enrolled more than thirty stolid-looking, half-tamed boys, who taxed all his energies in the class room and in one way or other absorbed the most of his waking hours outside of it. The routine of each day began at 5 A. M., and continued without break until 12 M., when the head of each department carved and served about twenty-five or thirty pounds of meat at the dinner table and had general oversight of the group for which he was responsible. From 1 o'clock until 2.30 P. M., work in the class room was resumed. From 2.30 until 5.30 P. M. the boys were employed in chopping wood under the care of the farmer. This brief interval, when not taken up with dosing sick boys or giving out medicines to visiting Choctaws who had sick ones in their homes, was utilized in the preparation of sermons. At 5.30, all were as-

sembled for supper and evening prayers. At 6.30, Mr. Jackson's group went to their sitting-room, where he read to them, and at 8 o'clock he lighted them to their bedrooms and removed the lights.

The last item in the day's work was usually the preparing of about fifty copies for the writing class. With the exception of Saturday, when less time was given to study and more to washing clothes, bathing, etc., this was the ordinary occupation of each working day. On the Sabbath, there were two services and two Sabbath schools in which all of the missionary force, in one way or another, ordinarily took part.

The founders of this mission shared in the belief more prevalent in that day than with us now, that corporal punishment was one of the most efficient aids to discipline in a school of growing boys, and from the beginning it had been applied to the rebellious and disobedient of all grades in the Spencer Academy. A letter to his parents, dated November 10, 1858, gives some interesting items from his own experience in the matter of discipline:—

“My boys are mostly large, and give me a good deal of trouble. The missionaries here say it was just what they had to pass through. They like to try a new teacher, and they do it in every conceivable way. Our surest mode of discipline is whipping. This I dislike very much. If you should deprive a boy of his meal it would make a good deal of noise in the tribe, but if you should whip him until the blood runs there would be nothing said about it. So I have to whip them. It is strange how you can calm them down. One of them doubled up his fist to intimidate me, but the only effect was to secure him a severer whipping. They are very impudent and stubborn, if allowed to have their own way, and sometimes won't answer a word; sometimes refuse to go to

class. One day, I found under the seat of one of the boys a large hunting-knife whetted to a keen edge. I took it in keeping for him. Recently one of the larger boys wrote me that if I attempted to whip another boy, he would whip me. By the advice of the other teachers I took the suit of clothes which belonged to him when he came, and calling him to my room was about to turn him out, when he broke down completely and said he did not mean it, and promised good behaviour in the future, if I allowed him to stay. He afterwards said the same thing before the whole school. When we get a superintendent, the bad cases are to be turned over to him. I wish we could have one soon. I can give him work for awhile."

One is tempted to smile at this very natural wish of a sorely tried man. The time of the "more excellent way" of Captain Pratt, which proved to be so efficient at Carlisle, was not yet; and even if this way had been introduced at that stage in the Indian Territory the effect would probably have been immediately disastrous to the person introducing it.

Mrs. Jackson's coöperative work was mainly along domestic lines, such as sewing, darning socks, distributing clothing, and dosing the sick. Her careful home-training, in all the varied details of household life and industries, and the heritage of health and vigour received from sturdy ancestors of Holland stock, stood her in good stead in this initial venture, as well as in the later experiences of missionary life on the frontier. Sometimes it fell to her lot to act as a substitute for a sick or absent teacher; or to engage in such commonplace work as cleaning lamps for the chapel, assorting clothing for wear or for the laundry, and sundry duties of like nature, when other helpers were not at hand, but usually the time was fully occupied "in keeping the little Indians in repairs." At one time, in an emergency, the work of

mending for seventy boys was cheerfully assumed. On the 22d of December, Mrs. Jackson writes:—"I have mended forty pairs of socks, twenty pants, ten coats, eight shirts, this week, and have not finished yet. But I do not mind it, as it gives me but little care."

The prevalence of malarial diseases of the most virulent and persistent type was one of the discouraging features connected with the work at Spencer. From these insidious diseases, which frequently prostrated the scholars as well as the teachers, and, at times, greatly reduced the working force of the mission, Mary Jackson was almost immune. It was not so, however, with her husband. From the first he suffered from derangement of the stomach and liver; and within the brief space of four months had three attacks of malarial fever. It was characteristic of the man to keep at work, so long as he was able to go about, but when something more than three months had passed away without prospect of relief, the conviction was forced upon him that it was his duty to seek another field of labour. To a greater extent, perhaps, he was influenced also by the feeling that he was not in his proper field of labour as an ordained minister of the Gospel; and that the work to which he was giving his time and strength almost exclusively was work which a layman could do quite as well, while in the great harvest field about him the calls for ministerial labour were pressing and urgent. Moved by these considerations, he wrote to the Board of Foreign Missions on the 6th of January, 1859, tendering his resignation, to take effect as early in the spring as he could be spared, without detriment to the work of the mission. Before this letter had reached its destination, Mr. Jackson was prostrated by a serious attack of bilious fever and for some days was unfitted for active service.

After his recovery arrangements were made to relieve

him from the confining work of the class room, and from this time until he left the reservation he had the opportunity to do evangelistic work in the several stations of the mission within his reach. In the prosecution of this work he averaged seven sermons and travelled about seventy miles a week. For a time his health improved as a result of this active, outdoor exercise, but with the increasing heat of the spring time the depressing effects of the malaria, which seemed to poison his system, returned; and during the rest of his stay gave him much suffering and inconvenience. Writing to his parents on the 23d of February, he says:—"After my recovery from illness at the time my school was given up, I felt much better, but for more than a week past I have felt miserable. Yesterday I was down sick and took medicine. To-day I am about again and feel better. If it were not that Mary has her work to do, with none to take it, I would come north before the hot weather sets in. As it is I shall probably remain and preach as I am doing at present."

Notwithstanding these periods of illness and depression, Mr. Jackson continued to preach without any apparent abatement in energy or enthusiasm. On several occasions, if not regularly, he preached three times and rode twenty miles on the Sabbath. On the 10th of March he writes:—"Since the 1st instant, Mr. Evans has taken the boys and I have nothing more to do with the school. I have now six weekly preaching stations and three on Sabbath. But this will not last any longer probably, as the weather is becoming too warm." The following account of a communion service in the month of February gives an inside view of some of the peculiar experiences of these brief but busy days of evangelistic work:—

"Last Sabbath we had a 'big meeting' or communion at Lalibok station. I went up on Friday afternoon,

fording three streams that were swollen with recent showers. I got there just before dark, and it was an interesting scene. The people were gathering in slowly. The log meeting-house stood on the bank of the last stream. It was very amusing to watch the Indian boys as they ferried over chairs, blankets, provisions, etc., as well as men and women, the water being almost over the ponies' backs.

"Near the house were forty or fifty Indians gathered around three camp-fires. I was invited to take supper with them and accepted the invitation. The missionaries generally take their own provisions, but as they all say it would be much better to eat with the people I told them I thought I could live on what the Choctaws had. At this time we had coffee, without milk or sugar; corn bread, baked in the ashes; roast ribs of pork, and another nondescript kind of bread. After supper, the horn was blown and the people assembled in the log church where I preached through an interpreter.

"The preacher's desk was a hewn log on legs, much like a carpenter's horse and the house was seated after the same fashion with longer logs and shorter legs. After the service was over I pushed two of the log seats together,—they were only two inches difference in height—rolled myself up in my blanket, and had a good sleep. About twenty persons slept in the building. On the floor, almost under me, was a Choctaw elder with his wife and children of various ages. I awoke about midnight and heard the Indians singing Choctaw hymns at one camp and at another a voice in prayer or exhortation.

"Saturday I again ate with the Indians, to their evident pleasure. Preached twice during the forenoon and then returned to Spencer. On Sabbath we all went out with the scholars of the Spencer school. It was a very

solemn meeting. One Choctaw who had been a backslider for thirteen years,—and for ten years a drunkard—was readmitted. On Monday, our best interpreter left. He is preparing to go East to study for the ministry.”

On or about the 1st of April, in accordance with the notice previously given, Sheldon Jackson severed his connection with the Choctaw Mission and returned with his wife to Galesburg, Illinois. Here they remained until arrangements were made for work in a new field of labour in Minnesota.

The record of work in the Indian Territory closes with the following statement:—“Early in the spring it having become apparent that I could not live in that malarial climate, and there already being signs of disturbances and paralysis of all mission work that would come from the approaching contest between the North and the South, I withdrew from the mission and went north to Minnesota for my health, entering the service of the Board of Home Missions.”

IV

LA CRESCENT AND THE REGIONS AROUND

“God’s work is one eternal sphere :
Our work, a segment of His work
And he, whose spirit-eye is clear,
Whose ready will no load would shirk
May read his name divinely writ
Upon the work for *him* most fit.”

—*A. T. Pierson.*

THE first commission given to Sheldon Jackson by the Board of Home Missions was issued on the application, and by the recommendation of the Presbytery of St. Paul.

The field of labour designated in this commission was the territory to the north of St. Anthony’s Falls. This was a territory of indefinite bounds, says Dr. Jackson, and meant much or little according to the person who executed it. He could have given his time to a few settlements on the Mississippi River north of St. Anthony, or if he had the strength could have travelled across to the Pacific coast. “I distinctly remember that I was planning to make Alexandria, about 160 miles northwest of St. Anthony, headquarters. Alexandria was then on the outermost fringe of white settlements. Circumstances, however, led me to decline the commission.”

With a view to seeking a field of labour somewhere in this part of the Northwest, Mr. Jackson left Galesburg, with his wife, in the month of July, 1859. His objective point was Winona, Minn., where he had an appointment to meet the Rev. David C. Lyon, a man of like spirit and

devotion, who was anxious to secure him as a co-labourer in that portion of the state. A visit with Mr. Lyon to some of the needy and rapidly growing sections in the outlying districts resulted in the selection of La Crescent, on the Mississippi River, as a centre of missionary operations. As soon thereafter as the necessary arrangements could be made Mr. and Mrs. Jackson removed from their temporary home, with Mr. Lyon to this place. On the recommendation of the Presbytery of Winnebago, Wisconsin, a commission was given for this field which reads as follows :—

This is to certify that the Board of Domestic Missions, acting under the authority of and by the order of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, on the application of the churches of La Crescent, Hokah, and vicinity, Minnesota ; and by the recommendation of the Presbytery of Winnebago, have appropriated the sum of Three hundred (\$300) Dollars, to aid in the support of the Rev. Sheldon Jackson as Pastor or stated supply of such churches. This appropriation is for twelve months, and to commence, . . .

In behalf of the Board of Domestic Missions,

(Signed) JOHN McDOWELL, President.

G. W. MUSGRAVE, Cor.-Sec'y,

Mission Rooms, 910 Arch St., Phila., Sept. 5, 1859.

There are two notable things on the face of this commission :

First,—The churches named in it were non-existent at the date of its issue, or, in other words, they were not yet organized.

Second,—The scant allowance of salary named in view of the fact that the field was undeveloped and the work unusually laborious. In this situation, the only visible support on which the missionary could count with certainty was the meagre appropriation of the Board. It

depended largely upon himself whether he could secure anything additional for the support of his family, or the necessary expenses connected with the prosecution of his work. In justice to the officers of the Board it should be said, however, that this insufficient allowance was made mainly because of the straitened condition of the general fund. The need for aggressive work on the western frontier was not realized, at that time, by the Church at large, and new ventures were not encouraged, for the reason that the funds in the treasury were insufficient to meet the wants of the churches already established. When at a later period this crying need was emphasized by men at the front, who came East to tell their story, the response was prompt and generous. Happily for the Presbyterian Church, the men who represented her on the frontier at this critical time were not unduly influenced by selfish considerations; and, although apparently forgotten and hampered on every hand for lack of means, they loyally remained at their posts. They did not gauge the value of their work by the pittance they received to keep the wolf from the door, but they toiled in hope, well knowing that the fruitage of the coming years would bring a glorious reward.

La Crescent was a village of fifty or sixty houses when Mr. Jackson selected it as the centre of his missionary operations and at that time the whole land to the south and west was destitute of gospel privileges. There was as yet no church building in the place, but he was permitted to use the schoolhouse for religious services until a house of worship was erected. For his own residence he secured a little frame building—eighteen by twenty-four feet in dimensions,—and as soon as some necessary repairs were made, he moved his belongings into it. Here his young wife took charge of the affairs of the household, and with rare courage and devotion “tarried by the stuff” while

her husband was absent on his long and almost continuous missionary journeys.

The crisp, clear atmosphere of Minnesota proved an admirable counteractive to the malarial poisons of the Indian Territory ; and its tonic influence gave wings to long cherished inclinations and aspirations, which hitherto had been repressed by infirmities and limitations. Here, at length, Sheldon Jackson found his mission. From this date, by Divine ordering and ordination, he became a missionary bishop to the "regions beyond." Interpreting his commission in accordance with the spirit and intent of the "Great Commission" he did not confine his labours to county lines or presbyterial bounds, but carried the bread of life to the needy across the river among the new settlements of Wisconsin, as well as to the perishing in the regions more directly under his care in Minnesota.

Replying to a question with respect to his understanding of the extent of his field at that time, Dr. Jackson says :—

"The commission of September 5, 1859, was intended mainly for La Crescent, Hokah, and *vicinity*, meaning the schoolhouses within five or six miles around, but I interpreted it to mean every community that I could *reach*, and consequently it extended a hundred miles or so around, reaching from Chippewa Falls in Wisconsin,—120 miles from La Crescent—to Jackson in Minnesota, a distance, as the roads ran, of 340 to 370 miles."

In *Minnesota*, this preaching circuit included the counties of Houston, Filmore, Mower, Freeborn, Faribault, Martin, Jackson, Waseca, Steele, Dodge, Olmstead, Wabash and Winona ; in *Wisconsin*, the counties of Chippewa, Eau Claire, Jackson, Trempeleau, and La Crosse.

This district as a whole covered an area of nearly 13,000 square miles, a parish as large as the state of Maryland. His field in Minnesota included for a time nineteen preaching places, the extremes of which were more than 100 miles apart. Never before, it may be confidently affirmed, did a home mission appropriation, of three hundred dollars a year, provide for the spiritual wants of a territory so vast, or accomplish so much in the establishment of churches and the bestowment of gospel privileges. In this Presbyterian Diocese of magnificent proportions the little towns and neighbourhood groups were visited and canvassed, and, as far as possible, supplied with preaching at stated intervals, usually once a month. At every place, as opportunity afforded, the sick were visited, the dead were buried, the wandering ones were sought out, and oftentimes reclaimed, the little ones were gathered into neighbourhood Sabbath-schools, religious books and papers were supplied, family altars were set up, the poor had the Gospel preached to them; and, wherever three or four of Presbyterian lineage or church connection were discovered, they were put into position to receive the regular ministrations of the word or were organized at once into churches. When at length pastors and supplies were found for these remote groups and growing towns, the territory of this itinerant missionary was, to that extent curtailed, but he still continued to serve them in securing funds for their houses of worship, literature for their homes and Sabbath-schools, missionary boxes for their ministers; and, oftentimes through influence with friends in the East, permanent supplies for their pulpits.

From memoranda which furnished the basis of Sheldon Jackson's quarterly reports to the Board, we cite the following summary of active labours for the first six months, or rather, from July 19, 1859, to January 1, 1860, in La Crescent and the regions beyond:—

Whole number of miles travelled	1,080
Whole number of miles walked	400
Number of appointments met	70
Number of hearers	2,200
Contributions.—General Benevolence . .	\$18.00
Contributions.—Church Collections . .	\$2.33
Churches organized	3
Membership of Churches organized . . .	18

For the next quarter (January 1st to April 1st, 1860), which covers the most severe and inclement portion of the year, the record is :—

Whole number of miles travelled	1,043
Whole number of miles walked	233
Number of appointments met	64
Number of hearers	1,858
Contributions.—General Benevolence . .	\$3.98
Contributions.—Church Collections . .	\$7.60

From the last statement it appears that the average distance travelled during this quarter,—by sleigh, on horseback or on foot,—was nearly thirteen and a half miles per day, while the appointments filled averaged about five per week. These tedious journeys through new and undeveloped regions, which for the most part were made alone, were attended with many discomforts, dangers and hardships. One day this Presbyterian circuit rider preached twice by previous appointment and rode home by moonlight when the thermometer registered 28° below zero ; on another occasion it was 15° below zero. On these and other journeys, to which reference is made in his diary, his hands, or feet, or the exposed portions of his face were frequently frost-bitten, before he was aware of the intensity of the cold.

To meet a series of prearranged engagements in the winter months in the most favourable conditions of Minnesota



1. Filling a midwinter appointment. 2. Presbyterian Church, La Crescent, Minn. 3. Presbyterian Church, Rochester, Minn. The first two churches erected by Sheldon Jackson, and the only ones over which he had pastoral care.



climate, meant the resolute facing of piercing winds and blinding storms, or the weary plodding through drifting snow-banks which oftentimes obscured the way and utterly bewildered the mind with respect to location and distance. Mention is made of a cold ride to presbytery with Mrs. Jackson when they were lost three or four times in one day, and for twenty-seven miles of that journey did not see a single human habitation. On the return journey, after a breakdown in the sleigh because of the condition of the roads, the route was so obscured that they missed it and for four hours wandered around among the hills in the darkness before a place of shelter for the night was reached. This trip with its detours occupied nine days. There are records, also, of long journeys to preaching stations where only a few were present, or where the house was so cold that the service could not be held with comfort or safety. At the breaking up of the winter season the melting snows, and the rains which frequently hastened the clearing away of long-standing deposits of ice and snow, flooded all the meadows and lowlands, making the roads in some sections almost impassable and the fording places of the streams uncertain and insecure.

On one occasion, while returning in a sleigh from a preaching tour in Wisconsin, in the latter part of March, 1860, a warm spell of weather with rain for a day or two, was followed by a cold wave on the afternoon of the Sabbath, but this did not hinder him from filling his appointments. On the Monday following, he started for home and found all the approaches to the bridges in the lowlands overflowed with water and the difficulty experienced in crossing them was increased by stretches of brittle ice which had formed on either side of the bridges from the shore. At one point where he entered the water, which was overflowing the road at both ends of a bridge, the

ice gave way readily, but when he came to the outreaching sheet of ice on the farther shore the water was breast deep and the horse could not secure a footing upon it. The only way out of this hapless predicament was by a path through the ice and in order to make it he was obliged to get out into the water and break enough of the jagged edges of the icy barrier to allow the horse and sleigh to pass through. In doing this, his clothing was soaked with water. After reaching the land, he had to drive several miles to the first log cabin by the wayside and when it was reached his overcoat was so firmly frozen that he could not unfasten it until he stood before the fireplace and thawed it out. When his undergarments could be removed he was put to bed, while the good folks of the house dried his clothes.

Mrs. M. R. Andrews, of Portland, Oregon, who was intimately associated with Sheldon Jackson in missionary and educational work in Minnesota, contributes the following reminiscence, under date of March 15, 1906 :—

I first met Mr. Jackson in the spring of 1861, in the village of La Crescent, Minnesota, where he had recently settled after giving up missionary work among the Choctaws.

There were few professing Christians in La Crescent at that time, and no Presbyterians. It was, therefore, not strange that the coming of a Presbyterian family should be given a warm welcome by Mr. and Mrs. Jackson, especially as the family came for the purpose of opening a school.

It was in this little village that the great work which Mr. Jackson has accomplished for home missions was begun, under circumstances of such difficulty and discouragement that one with less courage would not have succeeded.

Mr. Jackson was quick to see the possibility of good results in the future, as well as urgent need in the present. With him, opportunity was inspiration. Loyalty to God, strong faith, zeal and power of endurance led him to encounter danger and privation to the extent (his friends often thought) of recklessness.

The severe winter climate of Minnesota, the unsettled state

of the country at that time, caused by the Civil War—and the Indian Massacre of 1862—made the missionary's life one of hardship and self-denial. Travel by stage in summer and by sleigh in winter was the only way settlements on the frontier could be reached, often requiring days and weeks of absence from home, leaving the missionary's wife lonely and anxious, to care for the home and children.

The work of reaching out to destitute places deeply interested Mr. Jackson; his great desire was that every part of the country should be given educational and gospel privileges, and to this end he gave his time and energies, regardless of personal cost.

His confidence in the success of God's Kingdom seemed to inspire confidence in others. Appealing for aid his plea was—"Privilege to share in the Lord's work," and such was his power to impress others with this truth, that his appeals were seldom denied.

Many instances could be given showing the dangers and hardships encountered by Mr. Jackson in his efforts to reach distant places with the Gospel. I accompanied him at one time when he was to hold evening service in a village twelve or fourteen miles distant from home. We started on Sunday afternoon in December, a mild day for that time of year, such as sometimes occurs before a severe storm. The ground was covered with snow and the sky overcast with clouds. When but a short distance on our journey, snow began to fall and continued until we reached the village.

By the time evening service was over it was evident we had encountered a "Minnesota Blizzard." The following morning the snow almost reached the tops of the doors and windows. Fearing we might become snowbound, preparation was made for starting home as early as possible. Friends urged difficulty of travel over unbroken roads and danger of freezing should the cold increase. Mr. Jackson insisted upon returning without delay.

We found soon after starting that we must travel at a slow pace, as the freshly fallen snow came almost to the shoulders of the horse and into the sleigh. We were hardly out of sight of the village before Mr. Jackson attempted to break a way by walking in front of the horse, but it was not long before he found that his strength was not equal to his determination—he was overcome with fatigue—we must trust to the strength of the

horse, which was most discouraging, as he already showed lack of strength.

Late in the day we had travelled but a short distance, not having gone half-way to the stage road. About twilight we encountered a deep drift of snow through which the horse could not drag the sleigh. Trembling with fatigue, he refused to take another step. As night was coming on, Mr. Jackson must go in search of help—I must remain in the sleigh, while he would go on the horse to find a place of shelter. There was no sign of habitation, only a vast field of snow as far as we could see, with a bleak sky above, while about us was an overpowering silence, such as is only caused by intense cold in a desolate region.

After an hour's absence, Mr. Jackson returned, having found, a mile away, a Norwegian hut—with father and five children who could speak but little English, but who would give us shelter. Hoping to find a more comfortable place, Mr. Jackson went some distance beyond, where he found the home of a German; here we were refused shelter or any assistance that night. We decided to go to the Norwegian hut. The sleigh must be left until the next day—Mr. Jackson would walk and I ride the horse. In this way, we started but had gone but a little way when, on looking back, I saw Mr. Jackson disappear almost entirely from sight in the depths of snow. Fearing he would become exhausted, I urged him to share the horse with me; with reluctance he at last consented to do so by getting up behind me.

A bitter cold wind was blowing—by the time the hut was reached we were in a frame of mind to appreciate shelter and comfort, if not of the choicest. Shelter and food were asked for the horse. Neither could be furnished—there was not a place where the horse could be tied but to the door, not a tree or shrub was in sight. With such exposure the horse would die—we must go on to the next house and insist on having shelter.

Suffering intensely from cold, we reached the place and asked the privilege of sitting by the fire through the night and also a place of shelter for the horse. On learning that Mr. Jackson was a minister, we were given a warm welcome; a good supper was provided, and a place for sleeping—I to share a bed with the mother and baby, while a bed was arranged for Mr. Jackson and the man of the house in an unoccupied room,

made comfortable by the use of hot rocks. The older children slept on sacks, filled with straw, in front of the fire. The horse was given food and shelter in a shed adjoining the house.

Our narrow escape from freezing was realized the next day, when we reached home late and learned of the severe cold all over the state; many sheep and cattle perished and a number of people were frozen to death.

Being reserved in manner and speech, Mr. Jackson was sometimes misjudged by those who knew him slightly and who thought him unsympathetic, but few were more thoughtful of others than he or more ready and watchful to do a kindness, as many who remember his favours, with gratitude, could testify. There were times when his home became a distributing agency of supplies and comforts, obtained by him to relieve the need felt in homes on the frontier.

The joy of this pioneer service, despite its trials and hardships; its importance at this crisis period; and its abundant compensations for every hour of toil and self-denial are happily set forth in the following extracts from letters written to his parents. The first is dated February 13, 1860:—

“On the 5th inst., after preaching at Hokah in the afternoon I rode Mr. Pidge’s horse six miles to Mound Prairie, where I preached in the evening. Monday I caught a ride to Caledonia, fourteen miles, where I preached in the evening. Tuesday went on fourteen miles farther, and preached in the evening to about fifteen in a private house. Wednesday went fourteen miles farther west to Richland Prairie. Got there tired and disheartened. I had the promise of a horse beforehand from Mr. Cameron, but he was taken sick before I started. As my appointment had been out for a month—and I have not yet missed one—I had to set out on foot. It used to seem quite a feat to walk to Minaville, or Esperance, but here six or seven miles is nothing, and my last trip was 110 miles. Of that I walked eighty, and caught a

ride of about thirty. I reached Richland Prairie Wednesday noon and went to the house of Wm. Elder, a Presbyterian, to whom I had written to make me an appointment.

“Found them expecting me, house cleaned up, folks cleaned up. Soon after the neighbours began to gather in, to see ‘a live Presbyterian minister,’ and there was a large company to tea. In the evening, about thirty attended the preaching service. After the service they were loath to separate, some staying till midnight. These people seemed so rejoiced that they hardly knew how to contain themselves. It was the first Presbyterian sermon they had heard since they came into the country. They were anxious for a minister, but did not know where to look for one. In their extremity, they were talking of sending to Scotland for one. Oh, that God’s people would be more in earnest to increase the number of labourers in His vineyard. I could only promise to visit them occasionally on a week day. As far as I could ascertain, there were some fifteen Scotch families on farms in that neighbourhood, most of the adults being members of the Free Church of Scotland. On Thursday I left them with much regret. When I meet such people I forget all my weariness and trials and bless God for permitting me to be a border missionary. Though I have very hard work, with scarcely any pay and many trials and dangers, I would not exchange places with the most favoured minister in New York State, and I often wish I were equal to three, one to study, one to visit, and one to preach all the time.

“Thursday I walked twenty-two miles. My arm, my nose and one side of my face, were frost-bitten. The day was clear, cold, and windy, air exhilarating. Did not seem any trouble to walk, and did not feel tired, but Friday morning found myself very stiff and sore. Visited

and hunted up several families (Scotch), and walked eight miles, preaching in the evening. Saturday they took me down to Houston, where I have an appointment for twelve monthly services. From there I walked down to Hokah, arriving about sundown, not tired, but lame and sore. Yesterday (Sabbath) I rode Mr. Pidge's horse to La Crescent and back. After preaching here, went out four miles to a country neighbourhood."

On the 29th of February, he writes: "Monday night I preached at Diesbach City. Tuesday morning walked down in the rain over eight miles; went home, got on dry clothes and took the stage for Winona. The rain turned to snow, and we had a long, tedious ride of forty miles through the mud and snow. They brought me up free of charge. I expect to return on Friday with Brother Lyon's horse, the use of which I have secured for two or three weeks. If you or Brother Candee know or hear of any minister of the right stamp desiring a missionary field, I wish you would give me his name and address. We want very much three more men in our field."

A little later—March 20th—he wrote: "I am in the enjoyment of usual health. Last week, I took an extended tour of 175 miles back in the country, meeting with much encouragement and preaching every day. At one place a list of fifteen communicant members were secured with a view to the organization of a Presbyterian Church. At another, I found ten communicants; at a third, eight or more; at a fourth, seven or eight. Three of these were places never before visited. It is a great privilege to be the first to meet these people in their new homes, and the first minister of their own persuasion receives a warmer welcome than any after-comer gets. On Saturday I gave my new horse, which I purchased on this round, a good trial, riding him forty-five miles and leading Mr. Lyon's horse. When I reached La Crescent, I

learned with great regret that Stella Mercer had died and had been buried in my absence. She was perfectly conscious in her last hours, and left uncommonly clear evidence of faith in Christ. She was twelve years old, but spoke and acted like an adult. It was a beautiful death-bed scene; and, thank God, has not been without its results. The Spirit is hovering over us, and it is our earnest prayer that He may not pass without granting us a blessing. Yesterday I found Colonel Mercer, the strong man bowed as a child, and I think I left him with a wavering hope. It seems too good to him to be true that there is any hope for him. He has erected the family altar and is anxious to do something for the cause. To-day I found Mr. and Mrs. Snow anxiously inquiring, and Mr. and Mrs. Lapham are serious. Oh, remember us that these clouds may not pass over without a time of refreshing. I trust that the winter has passed and we are soon to have a spring season of the soul. Oh, that the Lord would here work!"

A few months after his arrival in Minnesota, Sheldon Jackson assisted in the formation of a County Sabbath School Association, and was elected its first president. He was an efficient agent also in extending the influence and distributing the publications of the Bible and Tract Societies, and for a time, without giving up his preaching services, acted as a field agent of the Board of Publication.

In the spring of 1860 he was sent as a commissioner to the General Assembly, which met at Rochester, New York. In selecting him as their representative at this time, after only a few months' service among them, his brethren of the presbytery were solicitous, above all other considerations, to secure labourers for the vast stretches of territory within and beyond their bounds which were as yet destitute of gospel privileges. As the result of his

efforts, three or four ministers were persuaded to come to their help during the year ; and wherever he had opportunity he voiced the call of this pioneer band and pleaded their cause.

The outbreaking of the Civil War in the spring of 1861, arrested the aggressive work of the Church on the frontier, and made it exceedingly difficult to hold the points already occupied. In response to an urgent call for volunteers at the front in connection with the work of the United States Christian Commission, Sheldon Jackson accepted a temporary appointment, under direction of this organization, in the Army of the Cumberland. His commission, signed by George H. Stuart, was dated August 4, 1863, but he probably anticipated its arrival a day or two, for on the 6th of August he wrote to his wife from Louisville, Ky., en route to his post of labour in Tennessee.

With hearty enthusiasm he entered upon this work, preaching frequently to Union soldiers and Confederate prisoners, holding prayer-meetings, distributing Bibles and tracts, and caring for the sick and the dying. From Winchester, Tenn., he wrote August 8th :

"The two churches are crowded every evening, and quite a number rise for prayer. We think of opening another church this week, so as to have three meetings each evening. It is a constant source of surprise to me to see how much religious interest there is in this army. I have not seen a drunken soldier since I have been here. Sabbath was as quiet as in La Crosse."

This ministry which promised so well was cut short by illness in his family. On this account he was constrained to tender his resignation at the close of two months of field service. Soon after his arrival at home, he had a long and severe attack of typhus fever, contracted while in the army. In the critical stage of this disease, his physicians despaired of saving his life ; but his work was

not yet done, and in due time he was fully restored to health and strength.

With La Crescent as a centre he continued his itinerant ministry with unabated interest for five years, except the brief term he spent in the service of the Christian Commission. This period covered four years of the Civil War, and it was a time of unusual hardship and distress in the homes of the missionaries on the frontier. The treasury of the Home Board of the Old School branch, under which Jackson and his associates were serving, was for a time almost reduced to bankruptcy. The appropriations, hitherto pitifully small, were reduced about one-third, and the commissions were issued for six months only. During this period of distress, and for all the years following while he remained in Minnesota, Sheldon Jackson interested himself to secure from every available source boxes of clothing and additional funds, to supplement the salaries of the missionaries of his presbytery and synod. This free will offering, which at the time was discouraged by the Board, was designated as the "Raven Fund"; and many a faithful prophet of the Lord, refusing to leave his post under the stress of threatened famine or failure to meet obligations, had cause to bless God for this timely manifestation of His providential care. The record of the gathering and distribution of this fund is preserved in a little leather-covered book, which, on its face, tells a very remarkable story, but to those who read between the lines it is one of the most pathetic records in the home mission annals of the Presbyterian Church.

In one of the notable addresses which were made in support of the nomination of Dr. Jackson for moderator of the General Assembly, Dr. George McMillan, president of Richmond College, Ohio, related an incident which illustrates the inception and import of this unique system of ministerial relief.

"I will mention one incident," said Dr. McMillan, "which doubtless in his useful life had many multiples. It was a cold stormy night; the missionary was looking for the quarterly check, long overdue, but was informed by letter that there was no money in the treasury of the Board; that missionaries must wait still longer for their pay. There was no coal in the bin, no supplies in the larder, the garments were thin and threadbare. The missionary reads the discouraging letter, looks at his dear wife and dependent children, tears flow from their eyes—they all fall upon their knees and pray God for help. They arise with sad hearts. A cart is seen coming along the road drawn by a pony; it stops at the gate; the pony is tied to the fence; a little man clad in furs winds his way to the humble dwelling of the missionary; a daughter looks through the window and cries out, 'Oh, mamma, papa, *it is, it is Sheldon Jackson! Things will be better now.*' He enters the house—is received with tears of gladness. Soon afterwards the frugal meal is prepared and eaten; the story of their distress is heard. Dr. Jackson writes a brief letter to some wealthy church. A box of clothing and a generous check are forwarded, and the family is happy and thank God and bless Dr. Jackson."

In after years when he was a district missionary by *appointment*, and not by force of circumstances merely, as at this time, he continued to collect and distribute this "Raven Fund" to those in his widely extended district whom he knew to be in straitened circumstances or overwhelmed by financial embarrassments, which they could not foresee or avoid. "The whole church had confidence in his word and integrity; therefore his ability to help the missionaries. His presence among them was sunshine."

The first entry in the cash account of this fund is prefaced by the significant words, in large letters directly under its title:—

"*With God all things are possible.*"—"Ask and ye shall receive."

The amount received,—fifteen dollars,—is credited to the Central Church, St. Louis. This initial gift was at once turned over to his friend and former associate in

the Choctaw Mission, the Rev. James Frothingham, whom he had persuaded to come to his help at a critical time in one section of the vast territory where for months previous he had been sowing the seed and preparing the way. The date of this gift is December, 1860. The record shows that the aggregate amount received for the fund from this time until January 1, 1870, was \$19,083.21. Of this amount, nearly \$10,000 was contributed for church buildings or special mission work; the remaining portion, amounting in the aggregate to \$9,230, was distributed to the missionaries who had suffered loss, and frequently were in sore straits, as in the case above mentioned, because of insufficient or reduced salaries. In the year 1869, for reasons to be given hereafter, a large proportion of this fund was contributed for the support of new men on the frontier, for whom no provision had at the time been made by the Home Board.

During the same period—including the year 1869—this indefatigable worker secured one hundred and seventy one missionary boxes, from churches and personal friends, for the families of his brethren and fellow labourers within the bounds of his presbytery and synod. In some cases the boxes were forwarded direct to the addresses he furnished, and in others they were sent to him for distribution among those who in his judgment were in need of this timely aid, but were too sensitive to apply for it.

“On one occasion,” says the Rev. John L. Gage, a co-labourer in Minnesota and afterwards in the far West, “a box of clothing was sent with the request that he should open it and divide the contents between two missionaries. When in accordance with this request, an inventory of the box was made it was found that some of the articles of apparel were threadbare and scarcely presentable. Rather than hurt the feelings

of the missionaries and their wives by sending such garments, Dr. and Mrs. Jackson filled the box from their own wardrobe and made the homes glad. But the missionaries to whom they were sent never knew what they had done.

“Dr. Jackson was hospitable as well as kindly and helpful. Home missionaries were always welcome to his home, and in our trials we found him always a sympathizing friend. And not alone with the home missionary in his work, but he deeply sympathized with the trials and sacrifices of the noble band of women who shared with their husbands the privations and toils of missionary work on the frontier. I wish the story of their sacrifices as we have seen them could be written. But it is a record known on high.”

The Rev. Robert Strong, of Pasadena, Cal., another co-labourer in Minnesota during this period, writes:—

I corresponded with Sheldon Jackson when I was graduated from Princeton Seminary, in 1861, and he urged me to come West, which I was more than willing to do. I always remember that when I reached La Crosse, which was the end of the railroad system of the United States in the Northwest, at that time, I crossed the ferry to La Crescent; and on the way I chatted with the captain about the Presbyterian minister on the other side. He seemed to think very highly of him as a man and told me how, in crossing the Mississippi in the spring when the ice was running, he had shown much pluck when the boat was in a dangerous place; and I think Mr. Jackson had a warm place in the captain's heart from that day.

When I reached the other bank I noted a large sign, reading about as follows:—“Presbyterian immigrants moving West will please leave their names and destination with the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, so that they may be looked after and church privileges supplied them as early as possible.” I thought that was a pretty good specimen of Western enterprise. I settled in Minneapolis, and our home mission committee of the Synod of Minnesota hesitated about inviting him to become a synodical missionary. We did not know what we missed when the choice fell on another brother, his superior perhaps in preach-

ing ability, but wonderfully his inferior in administrative force.¹ The next I heard of him was that he had accepted the superintendency of missions for pretty nearly the entire West, including Iowa, Dakota, Montana, Utah, Nebraska, and I think one other of the territories, and he was raising means by the thousands of dollars and sending men to fields all over his great territory. He came East several times and electrified great audiences in New York, Albany, Philadelphia and the great cities with the most simple and telling narratives of his missionary experiences. His later history is well known to all the Church, including his great work in Alaska.

An admirable summary of Sheldon Jackson's work, while at La Crescent, is given by one of his former associates, the Rev. Dr. R. B. Abbott, President of Albert Lea College, in his "History of the Presbytery of Winona," which was approved, and published by order of this presbytery in 1888.

The unique, racy style of the writer so happily blends with the stirring events he describes, and the story is so interesting withal, that no apology is deemed necessary for its transference to these pages as a whole :—

La Crosse, La Crescent—the Cross first, the Crescent later—opposite to each other—opposed to each other. Early in its history, the Crescent hoped to rival or perhaps supplant the Cross, and keep the mighty stream along its own banks and wharves and busy life;—not having read the book of Foreordination. It was during that era of hope, though hope deferred, that Divine Providence used malarial fever, at Spencer Academy, to drive to Minnesota—far-famed, healthful

¹ On March 14, 1864, the Rev. Robert Strong of Minneapolis, Minn., in behalf of the Committee of the Synod of Saint Paul, to secure a superintendent or synodical missionary, wrote Mr. Jackson offering him the position and urging him to accept it.

The offer was declined, as two days previous Mr. Jackson had agreed to go to Rochester, Minnesota, as co-pastor with the Rev. George Ainslie.

Minnesota—one of the chief actors in the early building up of His kingdom hereaway. Landing at Winona, persuaded by Mr. Lyon to settle permanently for six months in the booming and prospective city of La Crescent—the symbol of Islam—Sheldon Jackson began. He kept on beginning. That has been his life-work. Some years later, we see him beginning further west. Next he is beginning among the Rocky Mountains. Then he goes to Alaska and keeps on beginning. He will continue beginning to the end of the chapter. And when earth shall cover his clay with other clay, let his epitaph be,—“Here at last rests the Beginner.”—4 Little of stature but earnest in spirit, like another Zaccheus, he was ever running ahead of the crowd, climbing a hill, scaling a mountain, following a valley, opening a schoolhouse, to see Jesus—who He was, and what He would do for these far-away western people. He was constantly searching out the land, sowing beside all waters, organizing beside all railroads.—Too much of it, do you say?—Organized too much? The hunter does not grudge a lost shot now and then, if he yet bags abundance of game. Oh, for more Jacksons to follow up Jackson, to build up what he began! If subsequent ministers had had more of his faith and zeal and toil, maybe Brownsville, and Minnereska, and Rushford, and Richland, and Austin, and Sheldon, and Plainview, and Utica, and Taopi, and Dresser Valley, and Rollingstone, would never have been dropped from our Roll; and Eyota, and St. Charles, and Waseca, and Janesville, and Fillmore, and Stewartville, would never have been given over to other denominations. May be!

Mr. Jackson found one scattered Presbyterian at La Crescent. It was not long till he organized him—and some others. The church was formed December 28th, with six members, the election of officers being held at a later day. Mr. Jackson's salary the first year was three hundred dollars, paid by the Board of Domestic Missions, O. S. His six months' settlement, multiplied into sixty months, resulted in a comfortable church building, and a membership of forty-seven souls;—and the whole region for twenty, thirty, forty miles or more, repeatedly traversed, usually on foot, our little circuit-walker often taking no horse—and remember it took more than mille passum of Sheldon Jackson's to make a mile—every neighbourhood sought out, the gospel of Salvation preached with burning fervour in every town and hamlet, every Presbyterian dis-

covered, and a church organized wherever two or three of the faith could be got together in the name of the Lord. Take a specimen brick from the house of his labours: On Sabbath morning he preached in the home church in La Crescent, in the evening at Hokah (seven miles), or Brownsville (seventeen miles), Monday he travelled to Houston (fourteen miles), and preached in the evening, Tuesday evening at Sheldon (nine miles), Wednesday evening at Rushford (twelve miles), Thursday evening at Caledonia (twenty-four miles), Friday he returned home, and on that day and Saturday chopped wood to last his wife another week. Then on Sabbath he began to circuit again, varying it from time to time, to carry the word of life to every dark corner. The recital of such a history recalls the marvels of the heroic age, when men for the love of Christ would undergo any labour, or suffer any persecution, "so they might finish their course with joy, and the ministry which they had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." What a new and living commentary it gives to the marching orders of the Christian ministry, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Mr. Jackson seemed to think it meant just that. But what time could he have for the preparation of sermons? Go and try it once, my young brother; and you will see! He never read that last command in the light of modern revision, "Go into the largest congregations, and preach the grandest sermons you can write!" His head and his heart were full of the Gospel, and its glowing truths were cast into orderly form for sermons while on his solitary journeys. His study was his saddle, or oftener his boots! Some of these preaching tours extended as far west as Jackson, and some as far east as Galesburg, Hixton, North Bend and Black River Falls. At that time, he and the churches he organized were in connection with the Presbytery of Chippewa, which extended a little west of the Mississippi. During those years, and subsequently while at Rochester, he organized or assisted in organizing twenty-two churches; of which the greater part remain to this present, but some are fallen asleep.

During the year 1862, ever memorable in the annals of Minnesota because of the Indian uprising and the fearful massacres which followed, no churches were organized in

this field. In 1863, the crisis period of the Civil War, only one church was enrolled.

“Yet faithful to their mission,” says Dr. Abbott, “though in troublous times, Lyon, Speer, Chapin, Jackson, Frothingham, Ainslie, still proclaim the message of salvation, not only each in his home field, but running to and fro, that every destitution if possible may be supplied.”

Meanwhile, events were shaping themselves for a new departure in connection with another base of operations, the account of which will be given in the following chapter.

V

ROCHESTER AND THE REGIONS AROUND

“More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of.”

—*Tennyson.*

DURING one of his missionary tours into the interior of Minnesota, in the latter part of January, 1861, Sheldon Jackson came to the town of Rochester. It was the day of small things for this place, but its location was favourable for development, and here he gathered a little band for Christian worship on the following Sabbath. The Rev. J. C. Caldwell, missionary at large by the appointment of the Synod of St. Paul, visited Rochester on the 9th of February and preached on the ensuing Sabbath. Having learned that Mr. Jackson was expected to return the latter part of the week following, he remained over. After his arrival, they canvassed the place together and came to the conclusion that the way was open for the organization of a church. This organization was effected on the 17th of February, with four members. A fortnight later, two additional members were received. It was then arranged that Jackson should supply the church every two weeks until a minister could be secured for the field. Under this arrangement, the preacher made a round trip of 140 miles every fortnight on horseback or by horse and buggy. The Rev. Robert F. Taylor was the first regular minister secured for this charge, but ill-health compelled him to resign after six months of successful labour. Mr. Taylor was succeeded by the Rev. George Ainslie, Sheldon Jack-

son's former associate in the Choctaw Mission. About two years later, Mr. Ainslie requested permission of the church to resign his pastorate in order to give himself more entirely to the destitute neighbourhoods in the regions around, which he had sought to supply as he had opportunity, while living in Rochester. When his congregation declined to accede to this request he asked that a call might be made to Sheldon Jackson to become co-pastor with him and take charge, mainly, of the work in Rochester. In accordance with this proposal, a unanimous call was made out for the services of Mr. Jackson, in March, 1864, which call he accepted. "This double shepherding," says Dr. R. B. Abbott, the historian of the presbytery, "worked well, giving each of the brethren much opportunity for labour in the regions beyond."

In this call there is no mention of a specified salary. Instead of the usual formula it reads:—

"We hereby promise and oblige ourselves to pay you, in half-yearly payments, a sum according to the ability God giveth us, during the time of your being and continuing the co-pastor of the church."

The total membership of the Rochester church, at the date of the acceptance of this call, was thirty-two. Of this number, twenty-seven lived in the country, from two to seven miles away, and the remaining five were residents of the town. For the lack of a regular place of worship, the Sabbath-school and the midweek prayer-meeting had been discontinued. As soon as possible after the arrival of Mr. Jackson a room which had just been vacated by the owners of a drug store was secured, and all the regular services were resumed. About thirty persons attended the preaching service, at this time, while in the Sabbath-school the attendance ranged from fifteen to twenty. At the first midweek prayer-meeting six persons were present at "early candle lighting," in accord-

ance with the notice previously given, but it had not occurred to any one to bring a candle and the service was held in the dark, "the passage of Scripture being repeated and the hymns sung from memory."

The rapid growth of the town, and its prospective importance as a centre of trade and influence, made it necessary to secure a house of worship without delay ; and to this undertaking the new pastor addressed himself with his usual energy and celerity of movement, despite the obstacles, which to others, at that time, seemed to be almost insurmountable. As the result of a careful canvass of the congregation and community he secured subscriptions amounting to \$1,200,—about one dollar for every inhabitant of the place. With this in hand and a few letters of commendation from his associates on the field he started East to solicit additional funds wherever in the providence of God the way should be opened up for the presentation of his plea. Before he reached his native state, the Wilderness campaign under General Grant had commenced and so absorbed were men and women in the desperate struggles of that memorable year that it was exceedingly difficult to get a hearing for any cause or to awaken interest in any plea, which did not bear directly upon the issues of these deadly conflicts. It was a time of great financial perplexity and depression, also, and many who had the cause of Christ at heart deprecated the very mention of aggressive work on the frontier, in the midst of so much confusion and uncertainty. To the man of faith, however, all things are possible, and with prayer and hope the work which meant so much for the land when reunited and redeemed, was zealously and persistently carried on. In this case the difficulties which at the outset bulked so largely disappeared in time and at the close of the summer Mr. Jackson returned to his charge with \$5,000.

The following extract from one of Sheldon Jackson's reports to the Board gives some interesting details relating to the work of construction in its earlier stages:—

“Owing to low water in the Mississippi River, many of the lumber-yards were without stock. Some private parties, engaged in building, had suspended operations on account of the difficulty in procuring lumber; and the impression prevailed in the community that lumber sufficient for a church could not be procured at any cost. But after a season of special prayer for the divine blessing, the attempt was made and the lumber was secured; and, with the lumber, permission was obtained to have it transported from Winona, fifty miles distant, on the construction trains of the Winona and St. Peter Railroad to the end of the track. This made it necessary for me to travel backwards and forwards on the construction trains for several weeks, sometimes acting in an emergency as brakeman, and always superintending the unloading of the lumber at the end of the track. Then teams had to be procured to bring it into the city. Finally, the lumber was on the church lot. Then a new difficulty arose. Wages were advancing so rapidly that no responsible builder was willing to contract for the work; and the season was so far advanced (October), that many thought it unwise to commence before the following spring. Again, recourse was had to prayer. The carpenters were engaged; and, by the blessing of God, the work went forward so rapidly that upon the first Sabbath in December the building was up and enclosed; and the basement plastered, painted, and occupied for divine service. The next season the house (62x36 feet with spire and stained glass windows) was finished, and a pleasant and roomy manse added to the rear of the church. The entire cost of the church building, including a bell weighing 1,500 pounds, was about \$8,000.”

From this date and with these added facilities, the sphere of influence of the Rochester church was greatly enlarged. At the expiration of Sheldon Jackson's third annual commission the church became self-supporting, and his connection with the Board of Home Missions as a missionary pastor from this time ceased. In his final report he says :—

“In the three years past the prayer-meeting, commenced in the dark, has increased from an attendance of six to fifty ; the Sabbath-school from twenty to two hundred ; and the membership from thirty-two to one hundred and thirty,—the membership in the city growing from five to ninety. The number of communicants added the first year was twenty-three ; the second year, forty-one ; and the past year, fifty-one. The contributions the past year to the Boards of the Church amounted to \$300. They now set out to raise, for salary and congregational expenses, about \$1,800. This with the depression of business causes many of them to give far beyond the former standard of giving. Such are some of the fruits of your fostering care. To God be all the praise.”

“During Mr. Jackson's ministry at La Crescent two sisters, Mrs. M. M. Rice, widow of a Presbyterian minister, and Mrs. M. R. Andrews, widow of a teacher and ruling elder, came to the village and opened a private school. As they were women of culture, refinement, teaching ability and spirituality, Mr. Jackson gave them the glad hand of welcome, and such assistance as was possible in their school. When he removed to Rochester, it was arranged that the school should also be changed to that point as a place of wider influence.

“At Rochester, the two sisters and Mr. Jackson formed a company to establish a private boarding and day-school under religious influences, which was incorporated as the ‘Rochester Female Institute.’ In addition to his duties

as pastor of the church and missionary at large, he was professor of higher mathematics and languages in the school, without salary. During his pastorate, from 1864 to 1869, the school enjoyed great prosperity."

In December, 1867, the senior co-pastor, the Rev. George Ainslie, requested a dissolution of the pastoral relation in order that he might give all his time to missionary labours in the adjacent regions. The congregation united with him in this request for the reasons given, and soon afterwards the relation was formally dissolved, leaving his former associate sole pastor of the church. In January, 1868, a manual of the church was published by the pastor, which gave a brief history of the congregation from the date of its organization; and contained many practical suggestions relating to mutual helpfulness and greater efficiency along the lines of aggressive work. In his suggestions for the new year, special emphasis was laid upon systematic exchange of calls, *as a matter of religious duty*, social gatherings, personal communion with God, and earnest, daily prayer for the church and its minister.

An honoured representative of this little flock, Mrs. Amelia G. Watson of Marshall, Minn., writes, May 18, 1905, concerning her former pastor and his work as follows:—

"Mr. Watson and myself both united with the Presbyterian church at Rochester, Minn., during Dr. Jackson's pastorate. He married us and baptized our three oldest children. We have watched with great interest his increasing influence in the Church and nation, and regard him as one of the few grand men, unique in character and personality, a lovable, humble, great man in all that constitutes true greatness. As a preacher, his gifts were not exceptionally fine, but he excelled as a pastor; and in downright earnestness of purpose, consecration,

and indefatigable work he approached nearer to the character of St. Paul than any man I ever knew. He was too positive and aggressive not to have made enemies, but we always loved him and saw nothing but what was lovable and admirable in him. He probably has faults, that almost invariably attach to such positive natures, but, if he has, I never saw them. . . . What a blessing to the world he has been! I don't think he ever pondered much the question,—‘Is life worth living?’ He was too busy *living* for that.”

“I became acquainted with Brother Jackson,” says the Rev. Joseph McNulty, of Woodbury, New Jersey, a neighbouring presbyter and fellow labourer, “upon my acceptance of a call to the Presbyterian church of Winona, Minn., in the spring of 1868, at the close of the Civil War. He was the pastor at that time of the Presbyterian church of Rochester, and I was thrown in contact with him very often. He was a leading man in the presbytery and in the synod, both by force of character, as I soon found, and intensity of interest. While he had his own flourishing pastorate in the young city mentioned, and endeavoured never to permit any lack of pastoral care in the pulpit or out of it, he was at the same time ‘busy here and busy there’ with the care of all the churches, and the planting of new ones throughout the state, and the culture of legitimate missionary grounds throughout the bounds of our synod. He went hand in hand with good old ‘Father Lyon,’ the synodical missionary superintendent, my predecessor in the church of Winona. I know we had occasion frequently to speak of the voluntary journeys Mr. Jackson (as he was then), made again and again out along the frontiers in the severities and hardships of that climate,—starting from home Monday morning often and getting back only Saturday night—gathering little knots of people and

preaching to them every day or night and so laying foundations for something better to come afterwards. His wife too was equally self-sacrificing with himself in those days and weeks of missionary work,—‘tarrying with the stuff,’ at home. His remuneration for it all at that early day was very limited,—for then, I am pretty sure he did not have any of the income he came to have in later years. He was a brother beloved and preëminent among his brethren, though he was always modest and never thrust himself forward in the way of others. As a presbyter he was a wise counsellor, and the church never would have made the headway it did in Minnesota, but for his efficient guidance and help. I am proud of ever having been associated even for a short time with a life so grandly useful to the world. I know of but few men who have woven sacrifices and self-forgetfulness into their lives more thoroughly from Alpha to Omega than Dr. Sheldon Jackson.”

While there were many like those whose testimony has been cited, who appreciated the unselfish devotion and boldly aggressive policy of Jackson and his associates, there were others who looked with distrust upon their superabundant activities and when occasion offered openly opposed the organization of feeble churches on the frontier except where there were enough *bona fide* Presbyterian settlers to warrant such action. Practically they interpreted the commission of the Home Board to mean: “Go only where there are Presbyterians and plant churches.” Not so, however, did the men on the outposts understand their marching orders. Accepting the command of the Master as the rule of duty, they went out far and near to bring the privileges of the Gospel, and the good things of their Presbyterian faith and inheritance, to the destitute, the needy, and the lost.

Strangely enough, this principle of action, which seems

to be so universally accepted by all the churches at the present time had to fight its way against opposition and official obstructions in the beginning and throughout the course of the great forward movement which ultimately won for the Presbyterian Church a high place of honour and influence in the vast stretches of territory which lie beyond the Mississippi River. This was the inevitable protest of ultra-conservatism and easy-going discipleship. It had the look of plausibility, for the treasury of the Home Board was empty when the men at the front were pleading for advance and enlargement, but in the end wisdom was justified of her children : and it was found that the forward movement in the face of difficulties not only aroused the enthusiasm of the Church, but replenished its empty coffers and multiplied its aggressive agencies many fold. Meanwhile, however, the leaders in this movement were oftentimes regarded as dreamers and enthusiasts to be curbed and restrained. On one occasion, Jackson was sharply criticized by a member of the Synod of St. Paul for his excessive zeal in multiplying churches while those already existent were languishing for lack of funds. This charge which few of the brethren of that body were inclined to take seriously, prompted the humorous response of "Father Lyon," who was at that time the district missionary of the synod, and who weighed 225 pounds :— "Yes, I know, Brother Jackson goes pretty fast sometimes, but while I am holding on to his coat tails I think he can be kept within reasonable bounds." The disparity of bulk between the two men was so apparent to all present and the ludicrous picture of this ponderous official brake so realistic, that a hearty outburst of laughter followed, making further comment or action unnecessary.

The dauntless spirit of the frontier missionaries which Sheldon Jackson represented and the need for special ex-

ertion on their behalf can best be illustrated by a brief extract from a letter addressed to him, under date of September 11, 1868 :—

“The Board has the misfortune,” says the writer, “to have an empty treasury, so they can give me this year but \$260. Last year, it was \$350, and this means a reduction of over twenty-five per cent. You can easily see that this is an extremely hard blow to us. The people out here are poor, for the most part. If any of them have property they are in debt. Their crops failed for the last two years and some of them had to pay a large percentage on borrowed money. I cannot look for much from this people at present, if anything. I have a wife and two children and I am forced to ask : ‘How am I going to live?’ But I can trust my blessed Saviour. He has never laid a burden upon me I could not with His help bear, though grievous to be borne. This last summer we had to pass through deep waters, but we have come through.

“My wife has stood up under her sorrows bravely. She could suffer and do for her Master what she would in former years have looked upon as insupportable. Surely our friends in the older and more favoured portions of the Church will not permit us, —who are willing to do, and *suffer* in doing, this heavy frontier work—to perish. There seems to be, it appears to me, an effort to hold us back in our aggressive work. I believe, however, that we are doing in Minnesota just what our brethren *ought* to do all through this young and rising West. Our only fault out here in the West and Northwest is that we are not by one half aggressive enough. Let us not therefore give up till the Lord tells us we *must* give up. Then will we bow in humble submission to His holy will and never before will we back down a single inch.”

The case here cited was not an exceptional one. The

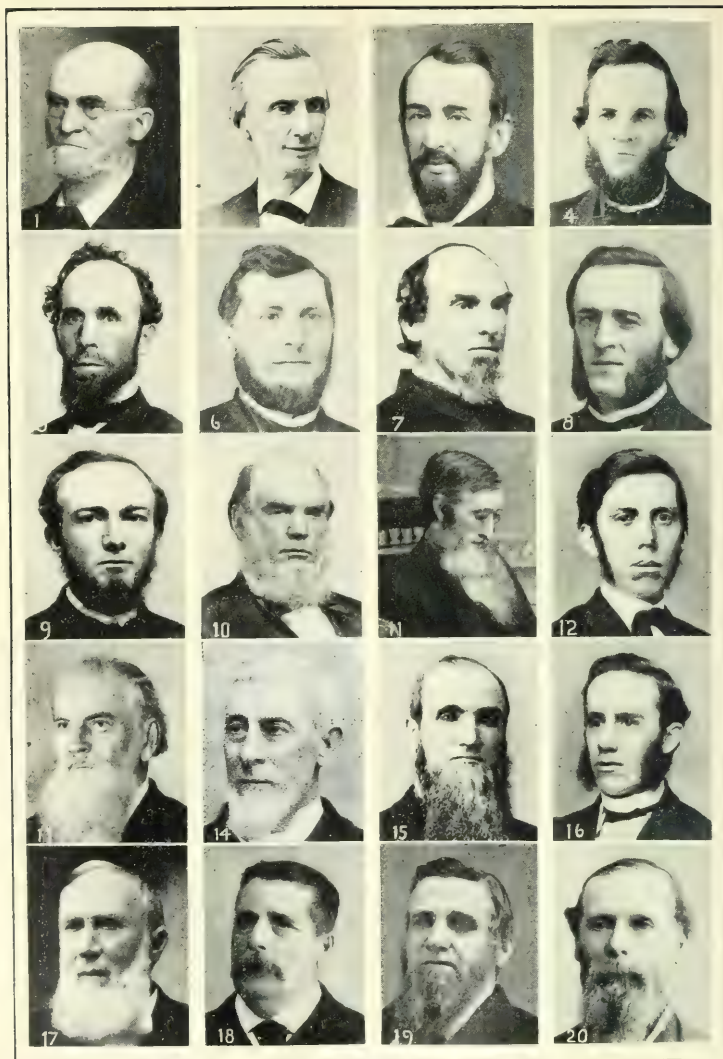
writer has had access to information based upon scores of letters of similar import. During the dark days of the Civil War these faithful representatives of the Church silently waited and endured, but with the return of peace and prosperity they naturally looked for a revival of interest in the cause for which they had jeopardized their own interests in the hour of need.

Great was their disappointment, therefore, when their earnest entreaties for support and enlargement were met with the old, heart-sickening response that the treasury of the Board was empty.

For this reason, several applications for new commissions in the spring of 1868 were denied. For reasons not so apparent the Board refused to recommission Mr. Lyon, the honoured and greatly beloved veteran of this field, as district missionary of the Synod of St. Paul.

At this time the officials of the Board of Domestic Missions were unfortunately committed to a policy of extreme cautiousness in dealing with the great issues which came before them in connection with the enlarging mission fields of the New West. Acting as they honestly believed in the interests of the whole country, and failing, to some extent at least, to realize the exigencies of the hour and the necessity for prompt action and liberal outlay, they deprecated the collecting of special funds, or the making of special pleas, in behalf of this emergency work on the frontier, insisting that all parts of the field should share alike in the appropriations from the general fund.

To the men at the front, who were holding their ground, fifteen hundred miles westward, against fearful odds; who had endured the pinchings of poverty and the humiliation of "beating time," while the representatives of other churches were bravely advancing to conquer and possess the land, this seemed like a virtual surrender of



PIONEER PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES IN WESTERN WISCONSIN, MINNESOTA, IOWA, NEBRASKA AND WYOMING.

(For names see Appendix, page 480. Group 2.)

privilege and opportunity, in one of the most critical and momentous periods in the history of the Presbyterian Church. Confident that the Church they represented had ample funds to meet the demands of a vigorous forward movement and equally confident, from past experiences, of its willingness to respond with generosity and alacrity, if their situation should be made known, they were united and insistent in the request :—"Let us go forward with faith in God and trust the Church to sustain the work." In their judgment, also, the great need of the hour was a man of their own number, who could worthily and intelligently represent their cause ; a man "that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do."

It is a notable fact that in this time of depression and discouragement, two of the leading missionary synods of the New West—St. Paul and Iowa—indicated their preference by official action, for the busy pastor of the Rochester church, as the most suitable man to enlist the sympathies and provoke the activities of the church in the inauguration and development of a forward movement.

Prior to this action, however, which will be given in due course, the Presbytery of Southern Minnesota gave expression to its views in the following paper, at Minneapolis, September 27, 1868 :—

WHEREAS, the committee appointed by the Board of Domestic Missions to correspond with reference to a permanent secretary ask suggestions of any who are interested in the subject, the Presbytery of Southern Minnesota would respectfully suggest to the Board that a greater force is necessary to the efficient working of the Board that the work in and out of the office makes an accumulation of labour far too great for one, and perhaps for two persons.

The Board tell us, with sad hearts, that the treasury is empty, that not only are they compelled to decline farther commissions, but they cannot pay those already commissioned,—in-

deed, that home missionary work is at a deadlock for want of funds.

Presbytery is confident that all that is wanting to fill the treasury is for the Church to be made fully acquainted with the wants of the Board, and the particular state of the work in missionary fields.

When we pause to reflect that some of our missionaries on the frontier are almost in a starving condition, that absolute suffering to them, and their families, in some instances has only been prevented for a time by individual brethren borrowing money on their own responsibility, at high rates of interest, for their relief, or the missionaries themselves paying *forty-eight per cent.*, we will certainly be excused for showing an interest in the matter that we never felt before, and should be criminal if we repressed.

When, too, we consider the advance which Presbyterianism has made, during the past year, in the great and important field under our supervision, the competition of other ecclesiastical bodies to occupy the same field, and the fullness of their ability to press every advantage in that direction, we are admonished that it is of the last moment, as we value the growth of the Kingdom under our hands, not to slacken the impulse we have obtained, and doing so must prove disastrous, and only disastrous to our best interests.

In view of these things, it is evidently desirable that our treasury should be filled *at once*. And in order to this, in our judgment, the Church should be brought into immediate sympathy with the whole missionary field.

We therefore earnestly recommend, as a man evidently fitted to aid in effecting this, whether in the capacity of assistant secretary, or as the secretary proper of the Board, the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, of Rochester, Minnesota.

(Signed) W. G. WILSON, Stated Clerk,
Minneapolis, Sept. 27, 1868.

H. A. MYHEW, Moderator.

This recommendation was not regarded with favour by the executive committee of the Board ; but it is interesting as showing the trend of sentiment in the location where the nominee for this position had lived and laboured for nearly ten years.

The action of the Synod of St. Paul, one day later—September 28th—was not so definite in its suggestions as to employment, but it was more acceptable to the officers of the Board and accomplished in part the object which its advocates had in mind.

The paper as presented and adopted is herewith given :—

*Synod of St. Paul, in Session at
Minneapolis, Minn., 28 Sept., 1868.*

TO THE BOARD OF DOMESTIC MISSIONS :

The Synod of St. Paul in answer to the invitation of the Board for suggestions as to the necessities of the Board at the present time, beg leave to suggest most respectfully, that in view of the depletion of the treasury, if the Board see the way clear to the employment in some capacity of Rev. Sheldon Jackson, of Rochester, Minnesota, we think it would be very advantageous, inasmuch as we have often found him to have a remarkable tact in interesting the churches in the cause of missions, and awakening an interest in behalf of destitutions in missionary regions, and in soliciting and collecting funds in their aid. In this respect we think he has few if any superiors in the Church. And we believe he would be willing to serve the cause of Christ, in this or any way to which the Providence of God may call him. And we beg leave to suggest further, that this recommendation is spontaneous, and not the result of any communication with him ; and of this action he is entirely unaware.

CHARLES THAYER,
Stated Clerk.

(A true extract ; pages 122 and 123.)

The reply was as follows :—

*Mission House, 907 Arch St., Philadelphia,
Oct. 6th, 1868.*

REV. CHAS. THAYER, Farmington, Minn.,
Stated Clerk of the Synod of St. Paul.

DEAR BROTHER :—Your favour of the 28th ult. containing an extract from the minutes of your synod is at hand.

In reply I have the pleasure to inform you that we have an-

anticipated the wish of the synod and hope to have the gratification of a visit from the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, in the course of the present week. Mr. Jackson had been invited to come East some months ago, but his engagements prevented him from coming at that time. He has written to us that we may expect him on the 7th or 8th inst. He will visit several of the synods in this part of the country, and I hope will be able to stir up the ministers, etc., to greater zeal and liberality. By presenting and pleading the cause before such large bodies he will be able, the committee thinks, to accomplish more in a short time than in any other way. With best wishes,

Yours truly,

G. W. MUSGRAVE, Sec'y.

A true copy furnished by order of
the Synod of St. Paul,
CHAS. THAYER, Stated Clerk.

For some months before Sheldon Jackson started to the East in compliance with this request he had been greatly impressed with the importance of a more aggressive work along the line of the new railroads and wagon routes,—already crowded with emigrants—which led through Iowa and Nebraska to the Rocky Mountains. “He had the eye of an explorer, which always rests on the horizon,” and in the quiet hours of the day and night he heard the call of the new land farther west and felt the responsibility of one who was to determine its future for the multitudes already going as well as of those who were to follow. Accepting the nearer call to duty as a providential introduction to some place of service in the interests of the general work he had already decided to ask for a dissolution of his pastoral relation with the Rochester church, to take effect at the close of the year, but as yet had given no notice to the congregation of his intention. In a letter written to Dr. Cyrus Dickson, of Baltimore, secretary-elect of the Board he writes, under date of August 27th :—

I have been a pioneer here for nine years. For four years and more the brethren have been urging me to enter the general work, but, in the providence of God, the way never seemed to be open until now. It has been proposed by men of prominence in the West that the Board be asked to divide the state of Iowa and give me the northern part, and some action looking to such an end may be taken at the next meeting of the Synod of Iowa. No action is desired upon the part of the Board at present, however, as I cannot leave this field before the 1st of January next.

At the meeting of the Synod of Iowa, in Cedar Rapids, October 3, 1868, the Rev. J. Armstrong offered the following paper which was adopted :—

Resolved, That in view of the rapidly-increasing population of our state, now numbering about one million souls, and of the several lines of railroads being constructed through the state, with the numerous villages and cities springing up along them and over our vast prairies, we believe that in order to render the plan of district missionaries effective, more than one is required in Iowa.

We would therefore respectfully suggest to the Board of Missions that they consider the propriety of appointing another missionary in this state, as soon as their funds will permit, whose field shall be the North Western R. R. and the territory lying between it and the Minnesota line, and that he be especially directed to visit the new settlements and towns not contingent to the fields now occupied by our ministers, and to secure organizations where desirable and foster them, and as soon as practicable, secure for them the regular ministration of the word.

In order to carry out this action, a committee of six was appointed who nominated the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, of Minnesota, for the position, subject to the approval of the Board. This recommendation was approved by a unanimous vote of the synod.

When presented to the Board, at a later date, the request was, however, declined. The principal reason

assigned was the lack of funds in the treasury, but it appears from other evidence in hand that the executive committee was desirous at this time to dispense with the office of district missionary, in every part of the field.

Meanwhile the Rochester pastor more than justified the confidence reposed in him in his able and fervid presentation of the claims and necessities of the vast mission territory opening up so wonderfully in the far West. By subsequent action of the executive committee his stay was extended through November and December, greatly to the advantage of the cause.

At Chicago, on the 27th of October, Mr. Jackson wrote to the session of his church informing them of his intention to offer his resignation to take effect on the first day of January, 1869, assigning as a reason his decision to go into the general work of the Church in the West. In this letter he sent a personal gift of \$125 to the church and gave notice of his purpose to release the congregation from obligation to continue his salary after November 1st.

The pastoral relation was formally dissolved at a meeting of presbytery held at Owatonna, Minn., on the 10th of February. In the closing days of the same month Jackson completed the special work he had in hand within the bounds of the presbytery and synod, and on the second day of March left Minnesota for a new field of labour within the bounds of the Synod of Iowa, to which he assuredly gathered from the indications of God's providence he had been called.

Of his widely extended and singularly diversified ministrations in Minnesota and Wisconsin which covered almost a decade of the most eventful history of the Church and the nation, no adequate summary can be given in words or statistics. Much of it was work which shall be known only at the judgment day. Among the tangible

results not already mentioned, the records show that during this period Sheldon Jackson preached as a supply at thirty stations ; organized, or assisted in the organization of twenty-three churches (three of which were afterwards turned over to other denominations under the rules of comity) ; secured for the field by letter, personal solicitation, or by visits to the theological seminaries, twenty-eight ministers ; collected funds for the mission work or for the missionaries amounting to about \$13,500 and distributed directly or indirectly to the families of missionaries more than 150 boxes of clothing and household supplies. It was a busy, blessed ministry, the results of which are manifest in ever-increasing measure in the large and influential synod now covering the ground which at that time was held by a few faithful missionaries of the Synod of St. Paul.

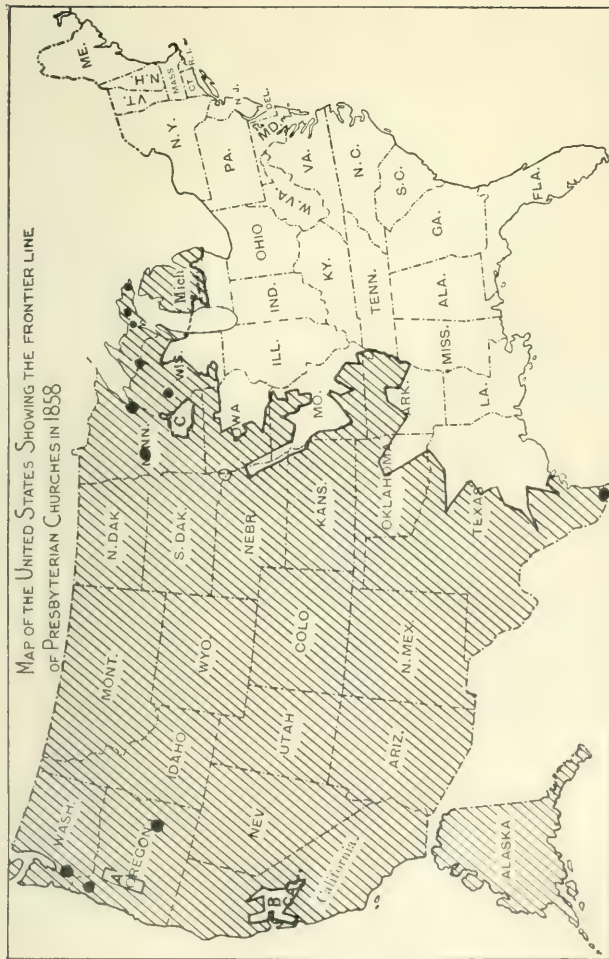
VI

THE IOWA FORWARD MOVEMENT

If there is a harvest ahead, even a distant one, it is poor thrift to be stingy of your seed corn.—*Carlyle*.

WHEN Sheldon Jackson commenced his missionary labours at La Crescent, in the summer of 1859, the outermost fringe of permanent settlement and civilization in the territory then known as the "New West" was in the valley of the Missouri River, a few miles west of Omaha. Except the mission organizations among the Indians, there were no Presbyterian churches in North or South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, or Nevada. On the Pacific slope, there were but twenty Old School Presbyterian organizations, of which eleven were in California and nine in Oregon. From this period until the close of the Civil War, the conditions were unfavourable for permanent settlements, and the population, which consisted mainly of gold-seekers and adventurers, was crowded together in mining camps or grouped here and there in little towns on the plain, which became for the time the bases of supply for the crowds among the mountains. When peace with its priceless blessings was restored in every portion of the land, the marvellous energies and activities which the long struggle had developed and sustained were directed into other channels and a period of enlargement, extension and prosperity began which has no parallel in the history of any nation of ancient or modern times. In less than a year after the

MAP OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING THE FRONTIER LINE
OF PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN 1858



WHITE - SECTIONS MORE OR LESS OCCUPIED BY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
SHADED - UNOCCUPIED BY CHURCH.

● CHURCHES WIDELY SEPARATED FROM OTHERS.
A - GROUP OF 10 CHURCHES WITH 104 MEMBERS IN OREGON AND WASHINGTON.

B GROUP OF 21 CHURCHES WITH 915 MEMBERS IN CAL.
C GROUP OF 23 CHURCHES WITH 525 MEMBERS IN MINN.

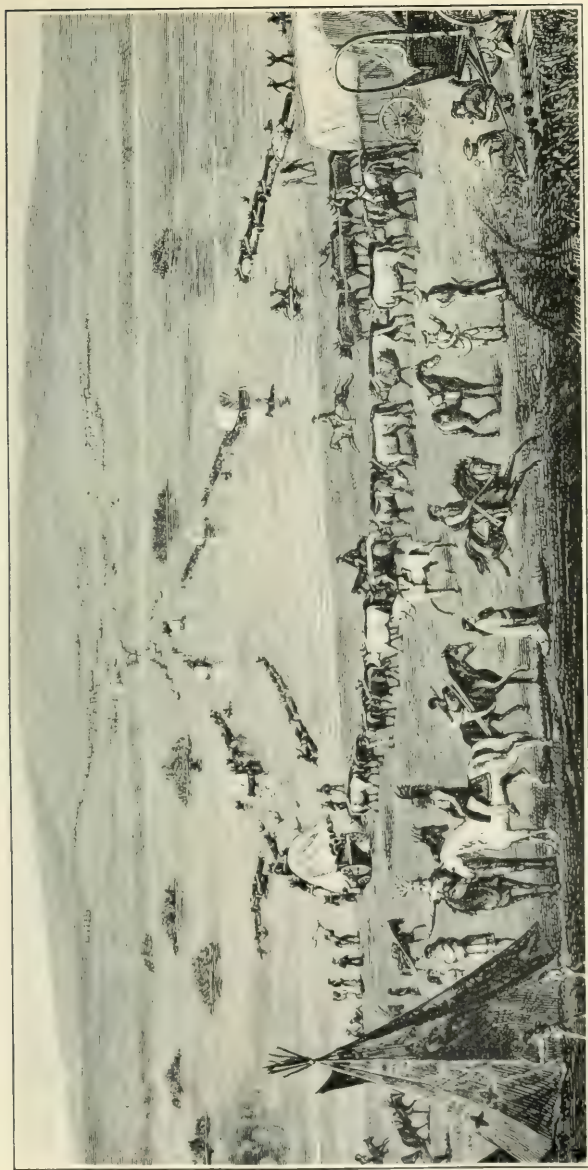


last of the Union armies were disbanded, the Atlantic cable was successfully laid and messages were flashed along the rocky bed of the ocean between two great continents. About the same time the colossal task of constructing a railway over mountains, valleys and plains, across the continent, was commenced from the side of the Pacific slope. The next year work was commenced from the terminal of the eastern road at Omaha westward, on the line which had been surveyed over the Rocky Mountains to meet the way which was being prepared across the Sierra. With marvellous rapidity a force of twenty-five thousand men reduced the distance between the competing bands of workmen month by month; and, as they advanced from west to east and from east to west, a fresh impulse was given to every movement connected with the development of this portion of the country.

On the 10th of May, 1869, the two great divisions of this trans-continental railway were united at Promontory Point, 1,030 miles west of Omaha, with official ceremony and unbounded rejoicing. Long before this period, however, multitudes had already entered the territories by every wagon trail leading westward, or were then on their westward way, in anticipation of the advantages which were sure to follow on the line of the iron trail. The men of this world, wiser in their generation than the children of light, were quick to take advantage of the opportunities opening up on every hand; but the churches with their uplifting, life-giving influences, were making no special effort to go in and possess the land. The billiard-room, the concert saloon, the corner groggery, the dance hall and the gambling dens moved with every shifting crowd, and were the first places of public resort in every promising town. In many places there was nowhere else for the young man, fresh from a Christian home, to go, not even on the Sabbath. Evil influences

of every kind were at the front in force, but the good lagged far behind in the race for position and power. While waiting for these to come up, many a good resolution was surrendered and many a promising life, which might have been a blessing to this new land, was beclouded and ruined forever. It is always bad policy, as well as sinful neglect, to allow iniquity to be entrenched in a new community before the Gospel is sent to counteract and oppose it; and this our missionaries on the frontiers had already learned to their cost.

Moved by these considerations and thrilled by the significance of the momentous events which were rapidly transforming the vast domain beyond them, so long given over to the Indian and the buffalo, into an empire of peaceful homes and prosperous communities—the prospective abode of millions yet to come—the Synod of Iowa applied to the Board of Domestic Missions for endorsement of their action in appointing Mr. Jackson to superintend the work within their bounds and in the regions beyond, which could not be reached or successfully carried on under the ordinary appointments of the Church. If ever there was a necessity for a district or synodical missionary, this was the time and the place. Towns and villages were springing up at intervals all along the line of the Union Pacific road, thousands of emigrants were crossing the Missouri River every month, and the occupied territory for which the synod felt a God-given responsibility, extended westward hundreds of miles beyond the farthest outposts of missionary occupation. This request, made in the fall of 1868, for reasons already given, was refused. The announcement of this refusal was a grievous disappointment to the applicants. The agency on which they relied to meet the emergency was called into being for the purpose they had at heart, and now, to all human appearance, without its aid there



EMIGRANTS CROSSING THE PLATTE IN OVERLAND DAYS.
Copy of Bierstadt's celebrated painting. Sketched from life.

was no solution to the ever-recurring questions :—"How shall this multitude going beyond the reach of present influences be fed with the bread of life? How shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent?" We are wont to lay great stress upon our trained hosts, our well-tested equipments, and carefully devised agencies for the extension of Christ's kingdom; and, ordinarily, we do well to confine our labours and activities to the official channels, which, in a sense, have been hallowed by the streams of beneficence coursing through them from generation to generation; but God, who rules over all and can save by few as well as by many, is not dependent upon any of these human agencies for the advancement of His cause. If the armies of Israel fail in the hour of peril or refuse to go forward in the hour of opportunity, He can make use of a faithful Gideon, with his three hundred men and a few pitchers and lamps; a Jonathan and his armour-bearer, or a ruddy shepherd boy with his sling, to do His work. In this crisis hour as in the former days, there was a man sent from God to meet its issues and inspire others, to accept its responsibilities. For a decade of self-denying ministries in the moral wastes of the Northwest he had been in training for this mission, and when the invitation of the synod which was posted on the fore-front of the line of advance, came to him, he regarded it as the *call of God*.

The unwillingness of the executive committee of the Mission Board to approve of this invitation did not affect his view of personal responsibility or alter his purpose. It was no part of his plan, however, to enter upon this work without the approval and authority of the presbyteries within whose widely-extended bounds he expected to labour. Hence he was obliged to wait until they could have the opportunity to take official action at their regu-

lar spring meetings. Meanwhile, he wrote to the stated clerks of the Synod of Iowa and of the presbyteries concerned within its bounds, announcing his intention, if the way should be clear, to take up the work to which they had called him as early as practicable in the spring, "independently of, but not in opposition to, the Board of Domestic Missions."

In the beginning of the month of March, he came to Iowa, and was cordially received by the brethren whom he visited, on the line of his route from Dubuque to Council Bluffs. Two or three days were spent in looking over the ground from this standpoint, with the help of the pastor of the church, the Rev. T. H. Cleland, who was at that time the efficient chairman of the Home Mission Committee of the Presbytery of Missouri River. One of the days of his visit was the Sabbath, and at the morning and evening services Mr. Jackson preached, by invitation, in Mr. Cleland's church. The text of the morning sermon:—" *Begin to possess* that thou mayest inherit the land," was the key-note of the great movement which he and his associates in Iowa inaugurated, in faith and prayer, a few weeks later. On Monday morning following,—March 8th—a conference was held with Mr. Cleland and one of his elders, Thomas Officer, with respect to the destitutions of the field, and a list of eleven important points was prepared, where efficient ministers were needed at once. With a view to supplying these points it was decided that an appeal should be made without delay to the students of the middle and senior classes of the theological seminaries. This was evidently the first step to be taken in anticipation of the action contemplated by the presbytery, and at noon of the same day Sheldon Jackson took the train for Chicago. With mind and heart burdened about these spiritual destitutions, he addressed the students at Chicago, Allegheny, and Prince-

ton, urging them as patriots and as the divinely accredited servants of Jesus Christ, to consider the claims of the new land—opening up so marvellously—towards the setting sun, and if need be to face the difficulties and brave the dangers for the Gospel's sake, which in all probability awaited them there.

At the close of these addresses, which produced a profound impression, conferences were held with those who were specially interested and a list of names were secured of all, not otherwise pledged, who were willing to go when their services should be required. To the volunteers of the middle classes a sufficient amount was promised to defray their actual expenses, while to those who had almost completed their course and were ready to go as missionary pastors, the prospect was held out of a competent support, based wholly upon the promises of God, as He should see fit to send it through His servants in the churches.

While on this errand, Mr. Jackson availed himself of the opportunity to confer with some of the representative men of the church in Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and New York, and he received much encouragement; and in several instances promises of substantial aid. In his diary, under date of March 14th, he wrote:—

“While praying for money to pay my expenses home, a servant rapped at the door and handed me an envelope which contained \$50. Again I went to the throne of grace with thanksgiving. Another rap,—and an envelope with \$25 enclosed was handed in.”

The next day he made this entry, March 15th—“Took breakfast with Dr. Van Dyke, who promised me help next fall. Had meeting with the pastors in Mr. Alfred H. Kellogg's study at 12 M. I laid before them the destitutions of the West, and Dr. John Hall, Dr. J. C. Murray, and others agreed to provide for the support of one

or more men of the middle class who should go out for the summer.”

One of the encouraging signs of the times, in connection with the forward movement for which these preparations were being made, was the expectation, growing more definite and certain every day, of a reunion between the Old and the New School branches of the Presbyterian Church. This, to the men on the Western frontier, whose eyes were on the distant horizon line, meant more than a concentration of forces and a union of effort. They regarded it as significant of a new departure in the administration of the affairs of the united Church, which should include in its sphere of labour the whole land from sea to sea, and stimulate its awakened membership to wider conquests and mightier achievements.

In this epoch-making period, when two great divisions of the Church, long separated, were drawing closely together; when two great railroads, starting from the eastern and western shores of the continent, were rapidly converging towards their appointed meeting-place, the Iowa forward movement was inaugurated without observation by three mission presbyteries bordering on the great unevangelized West. For boldness of conception and promptness of action and transcendent importance of result, this movement, born of the emergency, is without a parallel in the history of the evangelization of our land.

The Presbytery of Des Moines, in session at Osceola, sounded the first note of advance, and thus in point of time has the honour of leading in this important movement.

The following is an official copy of the action taken :—

*Osceola, Iowa,
April 24, 1869.*

REV. SHELDON JACKSON,

DEAR BROTHER :—By the unanimous vote of the Presbytery of Des Moines in session at Osceola, April 22–24, you are

appointed and invited to act as district missionary in Central and Western Iowa, as far as this presbytery has jurisdiction.

(Signed) DAVID S. TAPPAN, Moderator.

J. M. BATCHELDER, Stated Clerk.

The Presbytery of Fort Dodge which took similar action at Clarksville, on the 8th day of May, covered a section of the state north of the Presbytery of Des Moines, and both were bounded on the west by the frontier Presbytery of the Missouri River. At this time there were fifteen ministers and twenty churches, nine of which were reported vacant, on the roll of the last named presbytery. About one-half of these organizations were on the Nebraska side of the river, the farthest to the west being less than sixty miles from the Iowa line. In 1869, the New School branch reported but four churches in Nebraska, one in Omaha, and three in the valley of the Missouri River. There was not then a single Presbyterian church along the line of the Union and Central Pacific Railways between Omaha and Sacramento, California.

By reason of its unique position, the Presbytery of Missouri River had a place of commanding importance in the movement we are considering. The outlying territory, which virtually belonged to its jurisdiction, extended without a break to the limits of the Presbytery of Stockton, on the Pacific slope,—a stretch of more than eighteen hundred miles. To the north and south, the whole land throughout this extent was open to civilization and Christian influence, from British Columbia to the borders of Mexico. To be a district missionary under the direction of this presbytery and the two neighbouring bodies which entered into an alliance with it, meant, as Sheldon Jackson understood it, the supervision and evangelization of a domain of magnificent dimensions and untold possibilities, into which multitudes were go-

ing from all lands and nationalities, in advance of the Christian teacher and the uplifting influences of a Christian civilization.

The presbytery met at Sioux City, Iowa, on the evening of April 29th. On the afternoon of that day, Mr. Jackson and two of the ministers of the presbytery,—Thomas H. Cleland, Jr., and John C. Elliott—ascended a high bluff on the edge of the city, known as Prospect Hill, to look abroad over the land. From this outlook, portions of Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Minnesota were visible.

To the east and south one-third of Iowa, except six or seven feeble organizations in the river valley, was as yet unoccupied by the Presbyterian Church. On the other side of the river, to the southwest and west, nine-tenths of Nebraska was in the same condition. In the territory of Dakota, which stretched away to the northwest, with the exception of a few mission organizations among the Sioux Indians, under the care of the Foreign Board, there was not a single church of either branch of our ecclesiastical household. In the widening circle, far beyond the sweep of vision, including the territories of Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Alaska,—an aggregate area of 1,768,659 square miles, or nearly one-half of the total area of the United States, there were, exclusive of the Indian mission stations, only eleven Presbyterian churches. Distributed in sections throughout the whole of this vast region, there were unnumbered hosts of deluded Mormons, semi-Pagan Mexicans, sun-worshipping Pueblos, deeply degraded Eskimos, demon-worshipping Alaskans, with tens of thousands of Indians in reservations or roving wild over the plains and mountains.

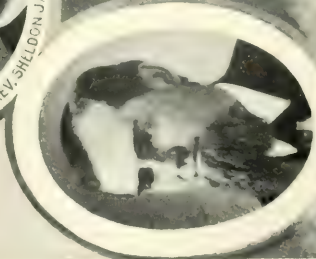
On that mount of vision, the hearts of these pioneer



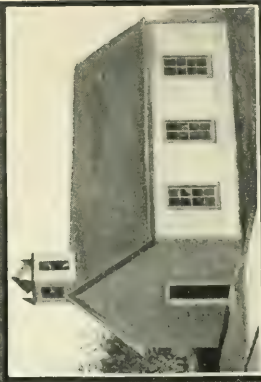
REV. SHELDON JACKSON, D.D.



REV. J. C. ELLIOTT.



REV. T. H. CLELAND, D.D.



SITE OF HILL-TOP PRAYER MEETING, SIOUX CITY, IA.
Missouri River. Trio of Presbyters. Prospect Hill. First Presbyterian Church.

missionaries were stirred with deep emotion as they realized the extent of the spiritual destitution which confronted them, and, kneeling down on the ground, they poured out the desires of their souls in strong crying for help and strength, self-denial and consecration, so that without shrinking they and those whom they represented might go forward in the Master's name to occupy and possess this goodly land.¹ The spirit of this prayer-meeting and the impressions of the hour, were carried into the sessions of the presbytery, and, by unanimous action, Sheldon Jackson was appointed "Superintendent of missions for Western Iowa, Nebraska, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and Utah." To this was added, in the original commission, the significant clause, "or as far as our jurisdiction extends."

Appointments of this nature have not been an unusual thing in the history of the Church: but it is seldom, if ever, that such a commission has been given without any provision for financial support. By all parties it was understood that there was not a dollar in the treasury of the presbyteries that could be appropriated for the salary or travelling expenses of the superintendent, or those whom he should send out to labour under their jurisdiction. It should be noted, also, that at this time the expenses of living at any point along the line of the Union Pacific road, or in the new towns of the territories which it opened up, were two or three times greater than in the older communities of the East. The minimum salary of \$1,000, where much travelling was required, was found to be inadequate for the support of a missionary on this field

¹ In commemoration of this historic event the Synod of Iowa appointed a committee in 1904 to erect a suitable monument on Prospect Hill; a site for the same having been donated by the mayor and city council.

without the most rigid economy in household and ordinary expenses.

Despite all the difficulties, which to many seemed insurmountable, Sheldon Jackson without hesitation accepted the appointment, with all its risks and responsibilities. The basis of his trust was the Divine promises and where the eye of sense could not discern any indications of encouragement he believed that God would open up a way. The action of the Missouri River Presbytery was taken on the 1st of May, 1869, and within one week from that date Mr. Jackson had posted three men at important points on the Union Pacific Railway. To the Rev. J. N. Hutchison was given the oversight and pastoral care of a section lying between the Missouri River and Julesburg on the eastern edge of Colorado, a distance of 375 miles ; to the Rev. John L. Gage, formerly a fellow labourer in Minnesota, the section between Julesburg and Rawlins, a distance of 318 miles ; and to the Rev. Melancthon Hughes was assigned the remaining section from the Sweetwater Mines and Green River, Wyoming, to Corinne, Utah, a stretch of 292 miles. As far as possible each of the above named missionaries supplied the towns within these limits with preaching at stated intervals, until other labourers came to their relief. The last spike on the great transcontinental railway was driven on the tenth day of May, nine days after Mr. Jackson had received his appointment ; and yet before that event took place he had seized all the strategic points on the line from Omaha to the terminus of the Union Pacific in Utah Territory. A few weeks later, four young men from the middle classes of the theological seminaries were sent out in the same way, "each to occupy from one to two counties." One of these men was Josiah Welch, who afterwards became the first pastor of the church of Salt Lake, Utah. Before eight

months had passed away, ten new missionaries were at work in Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah. In each case the salary was dependent in part upon voluntary offerings which came through the prayers and personal appeals of the superintendent and his interested friends.

The return mails, he says, brought back the responses in bank checks ranging in amount from \$5 to \$500. So that, as the months came and passed, not a missionary could say that he had not been paid, and paid in full. "Lacked ye anything?" and they said, "Nothing." This was preëminently a work of faith and consecration, as marvellous in its inception and prompt execution as in its results.

It is a noteworthy fact that from May 1, 1869, to December 31, 1870, Mr. Jackson received from private sources for the work an aggregate of \$10,037.79. This "Raven Fund" continued as long as it was essential to the work; and when the flow of beneficence was once started in that direction it was not an easy matter to stop it by general edict or otherwise. Like the gifts of the Macedonian church, much of it was given to the recipient in addition to their ordinary offering, "praying him with much entreaty that he would receive the gift and take upon him the fellowship of the ministering to the saints." Several years ago, says a writer in the *New York Evangelist*, when a prominent person in Wall Street was asked to give help to a missionary enterprise on new territory, he was told that Jackson had it in hand, and immediately doubled his gift. "That man," was the judgment of this keen observer of men and missions, "stands for so much in my esteem and confidence that I will give him double and ask no questions." It was this implicit faith in the man and his direct, common-sense methods that won for him friends and support when obliged, as in this case, to act upon his own responsibil-

ity, anticipating the slower movements of the Church to which he was so devotedly attached. It is easy to find fault with boldly aggressive movements, and in view of all the circumstances it is not strange that the motives of the prime mover in this undertaking should be misunderstood, or that his methods should be adversely criticised by those who were far removed from the field of action, or who were so wedded to ultra-conservative ways that they could not tolerate any new departures when confronted by unusual experiences or emergencies.

In the crisis hour of a great battle of our Civil War, as the story goes, the standard-bearer of a coloured regiment dashed ahead of the wavering line to which he belonged and called to the men to follow. Fearing that the flag would be captured, the officer of the colour company shouted out: "Bring back those colours." "Marse Captain," was the prompt response, "dis yeh flag neber go back." "Bring up dem men dere." With a rush the men were brought up to the flag and the coveted position was gained. So in this crisis hour of our home mission advance, when the line was wavering and halting in the face of a great opportunity, this veteran of the ranks seized the standard of the Cross, beneath which was a fluttering pennant of blue, advanced it swiftly to the front, and, planting it far in advance of the line, called upon the Presbyterian hosts to bring their men up to it. The fact that the Church did come up to it is the best justification of his motives and methods.

Sometimes by friends, as well as by foes, Sheldon Jackson has been sketched as a "free lance" in mission fields by preference and natural inclination. This representation is not warranted by facts. His early training was along conservative lines, and at heart he was intensely loyal to the ordinary methods and established agencies of the Church.

This is evident from all the records of his work, and especially in his correspondence with the Board of Home Missions. On the 6th of April, a short time before the action of the Iowa presbyteries, he tendered his services as a "volunteer in some field of wide destitution, north of the fever and ague line, where he could do the Church and the Board good service." At a later date, May 7th, one week after he had received his appointment from the Presbytery of Missouri River, he wrote to Dr. G. W. Musgrave, explaining the situation and renewing his request for an appointment under the Home Board in case they could see their way clear to endorse the action of the Iowa presbyteries. In this letter he says:—

"I sought and received the unanimous appointment of the presbyteries because I did not wish to enter the field without their sanction. If the Board is ready to undertake the work, the action of these bodies is their endorsement of your appointment. If not, I am instructed by them to coöperate with and labour for the interests of the Board as if commissioned by it. The presbyteries will rejoice when the funds of the Board will enable them to commission me to this or kindred work." . . . "I have made this subject a matter of earnest prayer since last fall and now feel that 'woe is me if I do not enter upon the work.' I think I have an intelligent appreciation of its difficulties and sacrifices, and yet the greatest hesitation has been from the fear that my motives and work would be misapprehended by the Board. But, dear brother, while I greatly prefer to work under your commission, yet, if the Board cannot appoint me, I most earnestly desire that they would consider me just as loyal to them as if working under their commission. My whole heart is in their work, and I cannot be otherwise than true to their best interests." Following this statement he indicates his willingness to raise

his own salary if the Board will permit it and also expresses the hope, based upon assurances already given by friends and well-wishers, that he would be able to add at least \$5,000 a year to the treasury of the Board, in case he were appointed by them, over and above what would otherwise be received into its treasury.

The attitude of the executive committee was not changed by this frank avowal of motives and intentions; but it is possible that it had an influence upon their subsequent action at a later date.

After making provision for the supply of the most needy points in his new field of labour, Mr. Jackson went to Minnesota to arrange for the removal of his family. He had already selected Council Bluffs as his place of residence; and on the 25th of May he returned to this city and at once began to outline his plans for the work of the summer. The pastor of the Presbyterian church of Council Bluffs, the Rev. T. H. Cleland, Jr., one of the trio already mentioned in connection with the "Hilltop" prayer-meeting at Sioux City, proved to be a valuable counsellor and helper; aiding in the office work as far as practicable, so that the new superintendent might be free to undertake the more important duties of the field-work, which at the outset called for all his time and strength. With genuine Western hospitality he received Mr. Jackson and family into his own home until a suitable house could be provided for their occupancy. "From that time," says Mr. Cleland, "his house and mine were Presbyterian hotels for the missionaries starting out for the frontier."

The following extract from a letter written by Mr. Cleland, under date of August 7, 1905, gives his personal impressions of Dr. Jackson and the far-reaching influence of the movement in which he had so prominent a part:—

"I was from the first impressed with his faith in God,

his absolute consecration to the work, and his indomitable energy. If men were needed for the work he could impart his own enthusiasm to the students leaving the seminary; and they counted it a joy to be on the frontier, where they could 'preach the Gospel in the regions beyond, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to the hand.' But the thing that astonished me was, that when the Board of Domestic Missions had no money for the frontier, Dr. Jackson could go to private individuals in the East and return with the adequate sinews of war. I recall that he ferreted out one man in the East who had interests in Truckee, Nevada, whom he interested to maintain a missionary for that point.

"Dr. Jackson set the pace for the Presbyterian Church, making it the pioneer missionary force for the Middle West and the Pacific coast. This had been supposed to be the honour that belonged to the Methodist Church hitherto, but he proved that Presbyterianism was not only heavy artillery, but a mountain howitzer as well, when the necessity called for it. He had faith in the Gospel, and in the Presbyterian Church as rightfully interpreting it, and also in the possibilities of the new country in the regions beyond. He did not hesitate to organize a small group in a village into a church, because he knew there were 'more to follow'; and he would seize the advantage of being first on the ground.

"He was preëminently a man of faith in God and seemed to his co-labourers 'to walk with God.' I have listened to few men whose prayers were more simple, unctuous, or mighty in their grasp of the Divine promises. He was an inspiration. Having no fear, but large faith, he inspired all about him with confidence; and his work was bound to succeed. There was nothing magisterial in his bishopric. He asked no missionary to endure what he was not cheerfully doing and sacrificing himself.

He cared for his gospel soldiers like a true general. He used his pen and his personal influence to obtain 'Boxes' and money where salaries were inadequate. His own means he used as freely in the work, and he was bold to ask others to do the same. He counted himself a pioneer. So that as rapidly as the work developed he would move westward. He changed his residence from us in Council Bluffs early and moved to Denver, to be closer to the 'firing line.'

"He, beyond any other man whose history I can recall, comes nearer to being a reproduction of the Apostle Paul, in his grasp of strategic points, in his absolute consecration to his work, and in his confidence in the Gospel as the power of God to regenerate the heart and correct the sad disorders of our earth. He is the Francis Xavier of Protestant America in spending and being spent. Take him all in all, he ranks with the foremost of the brave men to whom the American Church and the American State should pay highest honours, as the builder of a Nation and the founder of a Church."

Another valuable contribution to the history of this movement, from the standpoint of the men "on the firing line," is given herewith, in slightly abbreviated form. The writer is the Rev. David Stanton Tappan, D. D., LL. D., of Circleville, Ohio, who had the honour of being moderator of the Presbytery of Des Moines, which took the initial action:—

I do not think it is too much to say that Sheldon Jackson's entrance upon this work marked a radical change in the spirit and methods of conducting home mission work and was a great step in advance. In the minds of many of our ministers in the West, at that time, our Church hitherto had pursued altogether too conservative and timid a policy in its advances into new territory. There was undue hesitancy in undertaking new work and in putting it upon a firm basis. Missionaries

were not appointed, and, above all, churches must not be organized until the permanency and growth of a community or projected town was assured beyond a reasonable doubt. Those who had the shaping of our policy in their hands seemed to be perpetually haunted with the fear of "boom towns," and the spectre of dead churches. And so rather than organize one church that might soon prove a failure they would miss the starting of a dozen that would have lived and prospered. The result was that often when we had waited until it seemed perfectly safe to organize a Presbyterian church, there was little need of one, and the work was crippled by our delay. Much of the best Presbyterian element had been gathered into other churches and could not be recovered. So that the consequence was that we were falling to the rear in the occupation of the western territories. Sheldon Jackson, with the spirit of the true pioneer, at once adopted a bolder and more aggressive policy. The missionary was located and the church established with the advent of the first immigrants, and these became magnets and centres towards which Christian institutions and activities crystallized.

Instead of waiting for the communities to build up and give assurance not simply of permanency, but of a supporting Presbyterian constituency, the missionary and the church entered the new territories upon precisely the same footing and with the same risks as the farmer, merchant, and lawyer, to fight for existence, to make for themselves homes, and to demonstrate their right to live. The great West was being settled and the institutions of society and government were being shaped and fixed with a rapidity never before equalled in this, or any other, land. Many good people living in the older sections of the country, far from these scenes of strife and growth, failed utterly to understand the situation or appreciate the necessity for doing quickly whatever was to be done, if any place was to be found for the doing of it. Fortunately, Sheldon Jackson sounded the key-note of our advance into the regions beyond the Missouri. He believed that the Presbyterian Church was called of God and fitted to do pioneer work. He was not deterred from attempting anything by the fear of failure. He was not afraid to undertake great things and to incur risks for the Master, and he had the faith to expect great things.

Under his leadership, the Presbyterian Church assumed its

full share of responsibility for the evangelization of the great West; and, whatever had been its failure in the past, now stood in the very front rank of those who were fighting to win the land for Christ.

Neither Dr. Jackson nor his most enthusiastic admirers will claim that he made no mistakes. Some enterprises were inaugurated that proved failures, some churches were organized that died an "early death"; but, after all, these were but few in number compared with those who lived and prospered, becoming centres of blessing to the land, and sources of influence and strength to the Presbyterian Church.

As a young minister in close touch with that region, I hailed with delight Sheldon Jackson's advent and enthusiastically supported his aggressive policy, believing that it was the only one that could possibly succeed in the titanic struggle then going on for the possession of the land.

Looking back over the thirty-five years that have since elapsed and viewing the actions of that day in the light of subsequent history, I am still more firmly convinced that this was the true and wise course to pursue. It did much to conserve that region for morality and religion, and laid broad and deep in those new states the foundation of our own Church.

The third person of the trio mentioned in connection with the "Hilltop" prayer-meeting,—the Rev. John C. Elliott, advocated the same views and was equally enthusiastic in his support of Sheldon Jackson's aggressive work.

Such testimony from representative men at the front, whose loyalty to the Church and self-denying service in this crisis hour on her behalf should not be forgotten, amply justifies the advance movement of the Iowa presbyteries and confirms all that has been written with respect to its necessity and importance.

Starting out from his new home and base of operations on the 28th of May, Sheldon Jackson made his first journey across the plains to Cheyenne, at the base of the Rocky Mountains. At Fremont, en route, he made a

detour of several miles in a rough lumber wagon for the purpose of visiting a prosperous little community, known as the "Bell Creek Settlement." To the great joy of many in this region, he tarried with them over the Sabbath and preached in an unfinished house to a congregation of sixty persons. One of his hearers, a woman of culture and refinement, came on horseback, making use of a loose blanket as a substitute for a side-saddle. Not less primitive was another outfit consisting of a lumber wagon with plank seats drawn by four oxen.

At the close of this service a Presbyterian church was organized with eight members and one ruling elder. Cheyenne was reached Tuesday evening, June 1st. At this time detachments of soldiers were stationed at intervals all along the line of the Union Pacific road to guard against the attacks of hostile Indians.

Happily for all concerned, the most formidable of these treacherous and vindictive rovers of the plains were forced back soon afterwards to the mountains, or were compelled to live on reservations. The removal of this menace, which hitherto had prevented the extension of farming settlements beyond the outskirts of Grand Island,—fifty-three miles west of Omaha—gave a new impulse to emigration and settlement along the line of the Platte River and its tributaries.

At Cheyenne, which he describes as a "city of shanties, only two years old, but of great prospective importance," two days were spent in securing the help and coöperation of those who were favourable to the organization, in the near future, of a Presbyterian church. At a meeting of interested citizens, on the evening of the second day, the plans of the superintendent were approved and a committee was appointed to secure subscriptions and purchase suitable lots for a house of worship. Four days later, this tireless worker was east of the Missouri

River and took part in a Sabbath-school convention at Des Moines, in Central Iowa. On the 13th of June, he organized the Red Oak Junction church, within the bounds of the Presbytery of Des Moines, and the next day travelled thirty-five miles in a lumber wagon on the home stretch towards Council Bluffs. On the evening of the 15th, he boarded an east-bound train for Pittsburg and New York, for the purpose of securing funds for the erection of church buildings in the new towns and missionary stations along the line of the trans-continental road. In this he was successful beyond his expectations, and after a week of canvassing and public presentation of his cause he returned to Council Bluffs by way of Chicago. While on this errand, he received a gift of \$125 from a personal friend in Pittsburg, and from one firm in the same city—James Wood & Co.—a check for \$500.

Two weeks later, he was again on his way westward, with a view to making an extensive tour among the new towns and mining camps of the Rocky Mountains. The first Sabbath on the way out, July 18th, was spent at Cheyenne. This prospective city, the capital of Wyoming Territory, is a mile nearer the heavens than the city on the Missouri River from which Sheldon Jackson started, but it was as notable at that time for its depth of wickedness as for its height of elevation. The daily paper which announced the appearance of the Rev. John L. Gage, the first missionary sent to this place, also gave notice of a dog- and wildeat-fight in the afternoon of the Sabbath; and some that heard the Gospel in the morning attended the latter, which of course drew the larger crowd. There were some, however, in Cheyenne, in the midst of evil influences, as in other places of ill-repute in those early days, who loved the Lord and thought upon His name; and by these persons all that was good and

life-giving was fostered and maintained. At the close of the service on Sabbath morning, which was held in a schoolhouse, Mr. Jackson, assisted by Mr. Gage, organized a church with three members. This was the day of small things, but the same church to-day has a membership of 355; and through all the intervening years has exerted untold influences for good. The railway company gave encouragement to the new enterprise by donating two valuable lots for a house of worship. The next objective point was South Pass, the principal town of the Sweetwater mining region, in the western portion of Wyoming Territory. The only available route at this time was by rail to Bryan, on the Union Pacific road, and thence northward a hundred miles by stage-coach over a dreary waste of sand and sage brush. An hour after midnight, on the morning following his departure from Cheyenne, Sheldon Jackson reached the station at Bryan. Passing out into the clear light of a full moon he was directed to a distant lamp which indicated the location of the principal hotel. Following this clue, he found, on the other side of two liquor saloon tents, the entrance to a large one and a half story house constructed of unplanned boards. As he entered the office, in which were grouped all the attractions of the bar and billiard saloon, the proprietor bade him good-morning and with a winning smile called out "Come, Captain, and have a regular dodger to scrape the clam out of the roof of your mouth." Declining this invitation with thanks, he asked for a bed and was shown into a small room in the loft. The door had no lock and the partition, originally made of unseasoned lumber, had shrunken to such an extent that a hand could be inserted between the boards. A hole in the wall, without sash or glass, was the only window. A slight examination of the bed revealed the swarming vermin which lurked underneath its covering.

As there were no chairs in the room, the only choice was between the bed and the dirty floor. After buttoning up his overcoat and tying a handkerchief closely about his neck, the weary traveller vainly sought sleep on the top of the bed. It was the middle of July, but the night was cold and the coming of the morning was anxiously awaited. At early dawn he went down into the office, where three men were taking their morning dram. A half-hour later, he found one of the men on the ground outside, stiffening in death. In a drunken row which quickly followed the friendly interchange of greetings and health-drinkings he was stabbed with a knife by one of his comrades. This was not an unusual occurrence in that place where the first seven graves in the cemetery were filled by men who met a bloody and violent death.

The route from Bryan to the Sweetwater Mines ran for much of the way along the old overland trail, between the Missouri River and Sacramento. The Bannock Indians who roved over this territory were incorrigibly hostile, and on several occasions during the sixties attacked the stage-coaches. To guard as far as possible against the perils of this wilderness road, the company had constructed stockade forts at intervals of ten or twelve miles ; and, when the Indians were known to be on the war-path, arms were provided for the defense of the passengers. Between these fortified relay stations the mule or mustang teams, six to each coach, were driven at full speed. As they approached the stockade, the double gates were swung open and as soon as they were inside they were closed behind them. Here in seclusion and safety the necessary changes were made for the next run.

When Mr. Jackson made application in the early morning for passage over this route he was apprised of the danger of attack from hostile bands, which were known



An Indian attack on a frontier stage coach.



to be hovering about along the line of the road, and was given a loaded rifle to be used in defense of his life, in case of need. A fellow passenger, bound for the same destination, was provided with a similar outfit.

Through the long midsummer day, as the mule-team raced from station to station, the occupants of the coach were on the alert with weapons on their knees or close at hand in anticipation of a surprise; but happily for all concerned no attack was made, and soon after nightfall the end of the journey was reached in safety.

South Pass at this time had a population of 1,700 souls, but its lodging-places were crowded with adventurers, and the weary missionary was glad to accept of accommodations in an untidy room, twelve feet square, in which were three double beds. The basin of a mountain stream in rear of the hotel furnished the only available place for his morning ablutions. The charge for accommodations of this character was four dollars per day.

In the morning, a notice was posted announcing a preaching service—and, at a later hour, a boy was sent out with a bell, who rang the changes also on the brief sentence—"There will be preaching this evening in Mormon Gulch." The service was held in a large warehouse, tendered and cleaned up for the purpose by one of the citizens. Soon after this meeting-place was secured, a man came across the way and offered his dance-hall, a large canvas tent—25 x 50 feet—and seemed quite disappointed when he learned that his offer came too late. Before he left this community, Mr. Jackson was requested to visit a dying miner. He found the man in a log hut—8 x 12 feet—without floor or window. On his face was the stamp of approaching death, and yet he was reading a low novel. For this apparent incongruity he apologized, saying that he could not obtain any better reading. The man, who was still youthful in appearance, had been

brought up in a home of wealth and refinement and was a graduate of a well-known Eastern college. To this dying stranger in "the far country," without comforts or tender care, the old story of God's love and grace was told and the missionary went his way.

Corinne, Utah, was reached on Friday, July 23d, and, on the following Tuesday, Mr. Jackson took the stage-coach for Helena, Montana, five hundred miles distant. The first day's experience was "hot, dusty, and unpleasant." On the evening of the fourth day of continuous staging, the terminus of this northward journey was reached; and the weary, dust-covered traveller had an unbroken night of rest. The next day, Saturday, he made more than a hundred calls in Helena and secured the names of those who were favourable to the assembling of a congregation on the following Sabbath, and, if the way should be clear, to the organization of a church. His record of that day's work gives the following enumeration of professing Christians:—Presbyterians, twenty; Methodists, twenty; Congregationalists, three; Disciples, six; Episcopalians, fifteen; Baptists, seven; Roman Catholics, five; Unitarians, one; Universalists, two; Friends, two.

The thoroughness of this house to house visitation is specially notable, in view of the fact that it was the day following a continuous ride of four days and nights in a rough mountain coach.

On the Sabbath, two services were held in Helena, and at the close of the first a Presbyterian church of twelve members was organized. At this time, with the exception of a few mission organizations among the Indians, this was the only Presbyterian church within a radius of one thousand miles. Returning by the same route, Corinne was reached on the afternoon of Friday, August 6th. On the evening of the same day, this energetic her-

ald of good tidings among the mountains preached to a little congregation at Corinne and secured their coöperation in an attempt to support Mr. Hughes in the administration of regular services. On the return journey over the Union Pacific, several stops were made to confer with missionaries whom he had sent out, or to organize churches which they had gathered in the rapidly-growing towns within their appointed spheres of labour. At each place one or more services were held, lots were selected or secured for church buildings, and all the available forces of the community were rallied to the support of the new organization. At Rawlins, a pledge was given, through an interested friend, for \$1,000 towards the erection of a house of worship, and a committee was appointed to secure additional funds and arrange for the building of the house, at as early a date as possible. This church, being the first to occupy the ground, absorbed for a time the Christian element of the whole community.

It is an interesting fact that Columbus, where a church was organized on the return journey, although usually classed with towns of the "Far West," is in reality the half-way town between Boston and San Francisco. This mid-continental town, according to the prediction of George Francis Train, is one day to be the capital of the United States. If centrality of location were the only thing to be considered, this prosperous little city of the plains has an incontestable claim to that honour.¹

At Grand Island, a swarm of mosquitoes interfered with the regular order of service, and well-nigh baffled the attempt to organize a church. The meeting for this pur-

¹The exact centre of the United States is said to be in Cloud County, Kansas—fifty miles south of the southern border of Nebraska, and not far from the great southern bend of the Republican Fork. "This means that the Mississippi River at St. Louis is nearly 500 miles east of the centre of the country."

pose, as previously announced, was held in a school-house. To guard against the interference of these pests of the lowlands,—which for a time disputed, with fair show of success, the claims of the early settlers to the possession and occupancy of the land—a man was sent an hour before the time of assembly to build a smudge before the door. He did his work well, but, despite the smoke, the mosquitoes gathered in such numbers that it “was not deemed expedient to preach.” The assembly remained long enough, as the record assures us, to organize a church and elect two good elders, after which the congregation beat a hasty retreat. The little church planted hastily, amid an environment so hostile and unpromising, was nevertheless a success from the beginning. Presumably it stands on higher ground than the schoolhouse in which it was born; or perchance the law of the survival of the fittest has worked to the disadvantage of the rapacious hordes which once annoyed its worshippers. In any case, it has grown steadily in numbers and influence, and at the present time reports an enrollment of 315 communicants.

During this missionary tour, extending from July 15th to August 17th, Mr. Jackson travelled 2,300 miles by rail and 1,200 by stage-coach, and at every stopping-place he plunged at once into the work before him, regardless of weariness or lack of sleep.

As a specimen of efficient, strenuous labour within a marvellously brief space of time, note the following record of the organization of churches:—

August	1,	1869,	-	-	-	Helena,	Montana.
“	8,	“	-	-	-	Rawlins,	Wyoming.
“	10,	“	-	-	-	Laramie,	“
“	12,	“	-	-	-	Grand Island,	Nebraska.
“	13,	“	-	-	-	Columbus,	“
“	15,	“	-	-	-	Blair,	“
“	16,	“	-	-	-	Fremont,	“

The above with the church at Cheyenne organized on the outward journey, make a total of eight churches, all of which survive to this day.

A few days before Mr. Jackson's return from this missionary tour the executive committee of the Board of Domestic Missions reconsidered its former action and commissioned him as district missionary for Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado. The amount of salary appropriated was \$1,500, but no provision was made for travelling expenses in the prosecution of his work throughout this vast extent of territory.

It appears from subsequent correspondence that it was the intention of the Board to limit the field strictly to the bounds prescribed in the commission ; but the work which had been already commenced in Iowa, Montana, and Utah, under the appointment of the Iowa presbyteries, could not be abandoned at this time without detriment to the cause and dereliction of interests to which he had pledged his coöperation and support. Hence, he so interpreted the later commission as to include all the outgoings westward of the district named. As he himself puts it :—"I went into the work west of the Missouri River in the spirit of the appointment of the Presbytery of Missouri River, May 1, 1869, understanding that I was to look after all the destitute fields between Iowa and Nevada, which was the great gap between the Eastern churches and the Pacific coast : consequently, in 1869, before the Board placed Colorado in my field, I was already at work in all this region."

One of the most serious problems at this time, in connection with the oversight of the field to which he was thus committed, arose from the necessity for suitable houses of worship in each of the growing towns where churches had been established. This urgent need could not be supplied on the field itself, to any great extent,

where a mere handful were holding the ground until the coming of better days; nor could it be supplied by the Board of Church Erection, which was so straitened for lack of funds that its ordinary obligations were met with difficulty. In this emergency, as in other times of stress and peril, the man of faith comes to the front and assumes responsibilities from which under other circumstances he would gladly have been relieved. It was necessary for the success of the work that a special appeal should be made to the Church at large, and, without hesitation, Sheldon Jackson voiced that appeal. In this, he seems to have been cordially supported by the Church Erection Board, as well as by the individual members of the church to whom he made his personal appeals. More than this he did, however; for when other helpers were not available he assumed personal responsibilities and signed contracts with building firms to avoid delay and insure the continuance of the work. In the Rocky Mountain section and at some points on the plains, where building material was very expensive, he met the difficulty by contracting with a Chicago firm which furnished ready-made buildings, shipping them by rail to their destination and putting them up on the ground to be occupied, as specified in contract stipulations. Referring to this novel expedient, a writer in the *Baptist Standard* of that date, says:—

Our Presbyterian friends, through the Rev. Mr. Jackson, agent for Church Extension in the Western territories, have contracted with Lyman Bridges, Esq., of this city (Chicago) for building seven or more churches at Cheyenne, Fremont, Rawlins, and other prominent points on the line of the Union Pacific Railroad. This is a practical occupation of this great and growing field. Cannot our Baptist brethren profit by this example?

Burdened with all of these growing responsibilities, Mr. Jackson went to St. Louis, at that time the headquarters of the Board of Church Election, to urge more liberal appropriations for his field. During the month of October, he appeared in the synods and other public assemblies in the Eastern states, to plead his cause in person.

On the return journey, he availed himself of the opportunity to attend the adjourned meeting of the General Assembly, in November, at Pittsburg, and marched in the procession which joined hands on Wood Street with the men of the New School column, "amidst welcomes, thanksgivings, and tears."

At this assembly he was instrumental in securing the passage of an enabling act constituting the Presbytery of Colorado; and also the addition of the territories of Utah and Montana to the field for which he was commissioned.

In this commission, Iowa was not mentioned, and it was the intention of the Board to connect it with another field, but, as a matter of fact, all the churches organized in Nebraska and beyond were still under the care of the Presbytery of Missouri River, the border Presbytery of Western Iowa. For this reason, and also with a view to supplying the pressing necessities of this section until a successor should be on the ground, Sheldon Jackson continued to give a portion of his time to Western Iowa until the date of his removal from Council Bluffs to Denver. The last church organized by him in this state was on the 30th of July, 1870, just before his departure for his new home on the Colorado plains. With the formation of new presbyteries in the vast stretches of territory west of Iowa, a new order of things arose and the distinctively pioneer work of the Church passed from the Missouri River to the farthest limits of the Rocky Mountains.

The initial movement which contributed so much towards the extension and rapid growth of the Presbyterian Church in this region, in 1870, and the decade following, was limited to eight months of the year 1869, and about four months of the year following.

Within this brief period, twenty-three churches were organized, of which those on the remote limits were more than 1,600 miles apart. During this memorable year, the superintendent of this vast field travelled over 29,000 miles in the prosecution of his work, placing a watchman on every high place of prominence, and occupying, with a view to future advance, every strategic point in the new centres of settlement and civilization. In that year, the blue banner of Presbyterianism was planted for the first time in the territories of Wyoming, Dakota, Montana, and Utah.

Then, too, were laid the foundations of the Presbyteries of Kearney, Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado; and, also, of the Synods of Nebraska and Colorado; each of which covered an empire of magnificent proportions.

From whatever standpoint we view it, this was one of the grandest missionary movements of modern times. It opened up to the privileges of the Gospel seven states and three territories, placing the Presbyterian Church in the forefront of every one of them, and gave into our hands that splendid and ever-growing domain—already a mighty influence for good on this continent—now covered by five synods, twenty-seven presbyteries, 579 churches, with an enrollment of 68,650 communicants! “Into these churches since 1869 have been received 100,601 members on confession of their faith. And by these churches since 1869 has been contributed for missionary and religious purposes the sum of \$15,323,292!”

VII

THE BEGINNINGS OF A GREAT MIDLAND SYNOD

"Our parish is a mighty nation, spreading from sea to sea. No thought yet encompasses it. No man who cannot see over the summits of the Rocky Mountains and out on the clear Pacific understands the future of this nation and can provide for it,"—*Dr. C. L. Goodell.*

THE pioneer minister of the Presbyterian Church in the Rocky Mountain territories was the Rev. Lewis Hamilton, of the Presbytery of St. Joseph, New School. He crossed the plains with the advance guard of the gold-seekers and adventurers in the spring of 1859, and on the day after his arrival in Denver he addressed a congregation of attentive hearers in an unfinished building which had been temporarily fitted up by its owner for the occasion. At the suggestion of Horace Greeley, who was then making a tour of exploration through that portion of the "New West," Mr. Hamilton followed the crowds who were going up into the mountains and preached as he had opportunity in the several towns and camps of the mining regions. Meanwhile, other ministers of the Gospel arrived from the East and laboured in some sections for short periods, but owing to the unsettled condition of the country no attempt was made at that time to establish permanent churches.

The First Presbyterian Church of Denver was organized with eleven members under the ministrations of the Rev. H. S. Billingsly (O. S.), on the 16th of December, 1861. This was the first organization, on home mission ground, within the limits of the Rocky Mountain territories. It

was taken under the care of the Presbytery of Missouri River, and was subsequently transferred to the Presbytery of Highlands, in Kansas. At a later date, November 18, 1868, a dissatisfied element of the congregation resolved to place itself under the care of the New School branch of the Church, and on the 10th of August, 1869, those who represented this element, apparently a majority of the Church, were received into the Presbytery of Chicago, taking the name of the First Presbyterian Church of Denver, New School. The former organization, although greatly embarrassed by this action, maintained its existence, and its pulpit was supplied by the Rev. C. M. Campbell, under commission of the Board of Domestic Missions. When the Presbytery of Colorado was organized it was enrolled under its original title; and, by request of the congregation, the name was changed to Westminster.¹

The New School organization secured the pastoral services of the Rev. E. P. Wells, of the Presbytery of Chicago, and was transferred to the Presbytery of Colorado, on the 16th of August, 1870.

Three or four additional churches were organized in the mountains, or alongside the foothills in Colorado, during the sixties, but all of them were feeble, dependent upon transient supplies, and practically without presbyterial oversight or care.

When the union between the Old and New School branches was consummated at Pittsburg, November, 1869, there were but five churches existent, of the Presbyterian type, within the limits of the territory. Ten years had

¹ Through the energetic and indefatigable labours of the Rev. W. Y. Brown, who took charge of this organization under commission of the Board of Domestic Missions, in July, 1870, its growth was rapid, and in 1872 the congregation completed and occupied a new house of worship in a central part of the city.

passed away since Father Hamilton had voiced the cry of the Messenger of old, in this western wilderness :— “Prepare ye the way of the Lord”— and yet the work of evangelizing the tens of thousands who had come to live and labour in this mountain section of the land, so far as the Presbyterian Church was concerned, was deplorably limited in its reach and pitifully meagre in its results. Where they could do no more, the missionaries, who, amid many discouragements, manned these outposts, held the ground in anticipation of the coming of a better day. The merging of the forces and influences of the reunited Church happily synchronized with the opening of the new decade and contributed largely to the speedy in-bringing of that day. By appointment of the General Assembly, the year 1870 was set apart as a Memorial Year, and long before its close there were substantial evidences of awakening interest and enlarging liberality in every department of mission work.

To Sheldon Jackson, who was eagerly noting the signs of the times, this was the golden hour of opportunity, and he utilized it by bringing every influence he could exert to bear upon the work which confronted him in the vast stretch of mission territory committed to his care. In anticipation of this hour, he had secured from the Old School Assembly, a few hours before its dissolution, the necessary legislation for the erection of a presbytery, which should include all the churches already organized in the Rocky Mountain territory north of New Mexico, to be known as the Presbytery of Colorado. As soon, thereafter, as it was practicable, he made arrangements, in accordance with the provisions of the Enabling Act, for convening and constituting it at Denver.

In the month of February, 1870, he entered the territory of Colorado for the first time. At that date, there were no railroad connections with Denver, and the trip

from Cheyenne,—an all night ride—was made by stage-coach. On the 18th of February, the evening of the day of his arrival, he convened the presbytery in the basement of the Baptist church and preached the opening sermon. The ministers who responded to the roll-call, under the provisions of the Act of the Assembly, were A. R. Day, C. M. Campbell, Sheldon Jackson, H. P. Peck, and William Kephart. The Rev. Lewis Hamilton was received by letter from the Presbytery of St. Joseph (N. S.) and was given the place of honour as the first moderator. One of the veteran missionaries who responded to this roll-call had spent thirty-two days in crossing the Plains with his family ; another had driven a team of six mules in an emigrant train over the same route when hostile Indians disputed their passage and sought opportunities day after day to harass or cut off some of the party in exposed situations by the way. To attend this meeting, one of the missionaries had travelled 107 miles by stage-coach, and another, the convener, had journeyed more than 600 miles. Four of the Rocky Mountain territories, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Montana—were included in the limits of this presbytery at the date of its organization.

The churches enrolled were Denver first (O. S.), Black Hawk, Boulder Valley, Upper St. Vrain, Cheyenne, Laramie, Rawlins, and Helena. One-half of this number had been recently organized by Sheldon Jackson in the territories north of Colorado, and the remainder, as already noted, belonged within the limits of that territory. The New School Church of Denver was not included in this enrollment, but at a subsequent meeting, in August of the same year, it was received by letter from the Presbytery of Chicago. The immense extent of territory covered by this presbytery may be inferred from the fact that two of its churches, Denver and Helena, were a



PIONEER MISSIONARIES IN COLORADO.

(For names see Appendix, page 480. Group 3.)

thousand miles apart. The only available mode of transportation for six hundred miles of that distance was by stage-coach, over exceptionally rugged roads.

The meeting of this little band of presbyters afforded the first opportunity for concerted action, and, after its routine business had been transacted, the body resolved itself into a committee of the whole to devise ways and means for supplying the spiritual destitution of the field committed to their charge. With a view to more efficient oversight and care, the General Assembly was requested to limit the field to Colorado, by placing the ministers and churches of the territories of Wyoming, Montana, and Utah in a separate presbytery. This action was taken in 1871, but, meanwhile, by direction of the Assembly of 1870, the churches of Wyoming remained under the supervision of the Synod of Southern Iowa, while those in Colorado were assigned to the care of the Synod of Kansas. Provision was made at the same time for Utah Territory, by placing it under the care of the Synod of the Pacific; Montana was overlooked, and for a whole year had no ecclesiastical connection, except with the Presbytery of Colorado. Thus it appears that the churches of this pioneer presbytery of the Rocky Mountains, during the first year of its existence, were distributed among three widely-separated synods, reaching from the borders of Iowa and Missouri to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The General Assembly of 1871 put an end to this anomalous condition of ecclesiastical supervision by creating the Synod of Colorado, which included all the churches of Montana, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico. In the last named territory, a presbytery had been organized as early as June 2, 1868. It was constituted with barely a quorum of ministers and one ruling elder. One of its ministers was a home missionary; another was labouring among the Navajo In-

dians under commission of the Foreign Board, and the third was a chaplain in the United States Army at Fort Craig. This ecclesiastical body, small as it was, comprised all the ministers of the Gospel within the territory of New Mexico, at that date, except one or two belonging to the Episcopal Church, who were serving as chaplains in the United States Army. The church at Sante Fé, which the ruling elder represented in this body, was then the only organized Protestant church in the territory. A few months later, when the Synod of Colorado was constituted, it reported five ministers and two churches.

The Presbytery of Wyoming was constituted at Cheyenne on the 13th of June, 1871, with five ministers and all the churches organized up to that date in the territories of Montana, Utah, and Wyoming.

The Enabling Act, which placed the above named presbyteries under one ecclesiastical organization was as follows :—

“Resolved,—That the Synod of Colorado is hereby constituted, to consist of the ministers and churches in the Presbyteries of Colorado, Santa Fé, and Wyoming: and that said synod meet at Pueblo, Colorado, on the 4th day of September, 1871, at 11 o'clock, A. M., and be opened with a sermon by the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, or, in his absence, by the oldest minister present, who shall preside until a moderator be elected.”

The synod met in accordance with this action, and was opened with a sermon, but for lack of a quorum adjourned to meet at the call of the moderator. This call was not issued until the autumn of the next year—1872—when a meeting was arranged for the 8th of September in the church of Colorado Springs. At this time and place, a quorum was present. Lewis Hamilton, the pioneer minister of Colorado, was elected moderator, and Sheldon Jackson was made the stated clerk. Then for the first

time in its history the synod took up the regular business for which it was constituted. At this session, the following recommendation was unanimously approved :—

“*Resolved*,—That in the opinion of this synod there is a great and increasing necessity for the constant and laborious services of a synodical superintendent of missions, within our bounds, and that we do most cordially bear our united testimony to the untiring zeal, faithfulness, and efficiency of the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, our present synodical missionary, and to his eminent fitness for this department of church work ; and we respectfully petition the Board of Home Missions to recommission him for another year.”

For more than two years prior to this official endorsement, Mr. Jackson had been at work in every portion of this vast outlying territory, under direction and commission of the Home Board. Three years later, by enactment of the General Assembly, Arizona was added to the Synod of Colorado. As thus constituted and enlarged, this ecclesiastical body covered six of the great territories of the Rocky Mountain section. It has usually been classified with the synods of the “Far West,” but in reality it was located in the eastern portion of the great West. Its border line eastward was less than three hundred miles west of the longitude of Columbus, the central station on the line of the transeontinental railroad. This midland synod separated the eastern portion of the Church from the western—the Atlantic slope and Mississippi Valley from the rugged mountains and sunny plains of the Pacific slope. Through it ran the great backbone ridge of the continent,—the mineral ridge of the United States,—with its priceless stores of silver and gold, and its new cities and mining camps springing up like magic in many places that hitherto had been regarded as inaccessible and unfit for human abode.

Its most noteworthy feature, however, was the immensity of its reach, especially from north to south. In this direction, it extended from the Canadian boundary to the borders of Mexico, a distance of more than twelve hundred miles. In width, this mountain district averaged about three hundred and seventy miles. Its aggregate area was 670,393 square miles, an area almost equal to one-fifth of the entire surface of the United States, exclusive of Alaska.

Stating it in another form, this princely domain was as large as the combined empires of Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy,—not including their colonial possessions.

It covered a field ten times larger than all of the New England States ; a province larger than all the country between the Missouri River and the Atlantic Ocean, from the Lakes to the Ohio River ;—an area as large as the space covered by twenty-seven synods in the East !

In the spring of 1872, the General Assembly created the Presbytery of Montana and assigned to it that portion of the Presbytery of Wyoming which was included in the territories of Montana and Utah. At the meeting of the synod in 1874 the Presbytery of Wyoming was divided. The portion of it east of the main ridge, including the churches of Rawlins, Laramie, and Cheyenne, was transferred to the Presbytery of Colorado. The western portion was joined to the territory of Utah, and the name was changed to the Presbytery of Utah. From this date until the end of the decade, the synod consisted of four presbyteries, *viz.*:—Colorado, Utah, Montana, and Santa Fé. In order to secure a quorum for the meetings of synod, during this period, which were usually held in or near Denver, it was necessary to have a representative from Montana on the north or from Santa Fé on the south. If he came from the north, he was obliged to

travel, on the round trip, 800 miles by stage-coach and 1,300 by rail ; if from the more remote stations of the south, the journey back and forth involved 1,600 miles of staging and over 200 by rail. In either case, the average expense for the journey was about \$125. The longest of these direct journeys is but 150 miles less than the distance from Chicago to Denver, and yet it would have been easier and not much more expensive at that time to have travelled all the way from the city of New York to attend one of the meetings of this synod. For this reason, there were but three business meetings during the period of the seventies, *viz.*: in 1872, 1874, and 1878.

This synod was as notable for its altitude as for its great extent. The places in which its churches were located were elevated from 5,000 to 10,000 feet above the sea. Several of its churches had an average elevation of 8,000 feet, or the equivalent of about one and a half miles skyward. The average elevation of the first group of twenty-five churches, which were organized within its limits, was 6,146 feet. It was no uncommon thing for those who sought for the wandering sheep of Christ's fold in this "hill country" to be lost in the clouds, or to labour for hours in the snows of mountain passes in the attempt to fill an appointment : or to meet with their brethren of the same presbytery in the foothills or on the sunny plains, who were enjoying the comforts of the land in the fullness of its spring-time.

The population of this synodical province, which throughout its vast extent was home mission ground, was singularly diverse and incongruous in its elements and beliefs. The multitudes which had entered it from the year that gold had been discovered within its borders were made up of adventurers and home seekers from every quarter of the globe. Alongside of the best representatives of Christian culture and civilization were the

lawless and debased, the unfortunates and degenerates of human society, who are always found in force in the new settlements on the frontier. Here, in close contact with the best and worst of the Anglo-Saxon race, were Indians and Half-breeds, Mexicans and Mormons, Chinese and Japanese, whose lives and habits and influences were at variance with the underlying influences and principles which from the beginning of its history have made our land stable and strong. In one of its largest and most prosperous sections, Mormonism, with its corrupting influences, was strongly entrenched and defiantly outspoken and aggressive. In other sections, there were groups of Indian settlements, which in the aggregate amounted to one-third of the Indian population of the country ; while in the South there were not less than 130,000 natives of Mexican and Spanish descent, deplorably ignorant and superstitious, who could only be reached effectively through the combined influence of the Christian school and Church.

To this field of labour, so vast in extent, so rich in natural resources, so important in view of its prospective growth, and so diverse and incongruous in the elements which made up its native and emigrant population,—Sheldon Jackson gave more than a decade of the busiest and most fruitful years of his strenuous life.

With unfaltering courage and ready tact, he met the difficulties and overcame the obstacles which confronted him on every hand. With apostolic fervour and zeal he explored the "regions beyond" as the advance agent of the Church, preaching the Gospel to little groups who had pushed out beyond its privileges ; and, where the way seemed to open up, establishing churches and schools, which, with few exceptions, became permanent centres of spiritual life and wholesome influence.

While intensely loyal to the Church which commis-

sioned him to do this work, he gladly lent a helping hand to every agency which had for its object the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout this vast domain, and was deeply interested, also, in everything that related to the development of its natural resources and possibilities.

Referring to this period of his life and activity, the Rev. Dr. Duncan J. McMillan, the well-known ex-secretary of the Board of Home Missions, writes :—

Dr. Jackson was the great leader in the Rocky Mountains, not only in church matters, but also in material interests. In those early days, with pen and tongue he did more than any other man to make known to the world the resources and possibilities of that region. Gifted with a seer's vision, the possibilities of our great West were as real to him at the beginning of its development a generation ago as the accomplished facts are to every intelligent citizen to-day. He wrought for the future as if it were present, hence he was misunderstood and often censured by men who could not see afar off.

For the reason given by Dr. McMillan, Sheldon Jackson was favoured, as few men outside of political circles or railroad connections have ever been, with free transportation and reduced rates. Regarding him as a valuable helper in the civilization and development of the regions in which their own interests were centred, the officials of these companies readily responded to his applications for transportation over long distances, for himself, or for reduced fare for the missionaries whom he sent out to the unoccupied fields. In this matter he was greatly assisted by the Rev. John L. French, who had many friends among the proprietors of the stage lines. These favours were freely given on railroads and stage lines among the mountains where the fare usually ranged from ten to twenty-five cents per mile. As a result of this friendly coöperation, thousands of dollars were saved to the treasury of the Home Board every year.


With scarcely an exception, all the rail and stage lines in the West, such as the "Overland Mail," the "Gilmer, Salisbury & Co.," the "Southern Pacific" mail line—then the longest stage line in the United States—the Colorado Stage Co., and perhaps a score or more of other lines liberally furnished these facilities year by year for reaching the missionary outposts.

The most notable of all the long-distance transportation cards which Dr. Jackson has preserved is an annual for the year 1880, issued by the Gilmer, Salisbury & Co. Stage Line, which was good for free passage over all the lines of this company in Utah, Nevada, California, Colorado, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Dakota, Washington Territory, Wyoming, and Nebraska.

This interesting memento of travel in the western half of the United States, a generation ago, has been copied for this work. It is a silent witness to the wonderful energy of the men who were able to effect such a combination over a territory almost as large as one-half of the surface of the country, as well as of their appreciation of the hardy traveller who was unselfishly labouring for the best and highest interests of this rapidly developing portion of the land. During the year for which this pass was given,—and for some time before—Sheldon Jackson had been looking after the interests of the natives in far-away Alaska, in addition to the work which engaged his attention in his own great field, and these favours of the transportation companies enabled him to visit some remote points to the north and south, which, without this timely assistance, could not have been reached.

Referring to this period of his active labours Dr. Edward Payson Tenney, of the Congregational Church, ex-president of Colorado college, says :—

No. 1



GILMER, SALISBURY & Co's
STAGE LINES

Pass
Rev. Sheldon Jackson

OVER OUR LINES
DURING THE YEAR 1880 UNLESS OTHERWISE ORDERED.

On Account *Hon. J. L. French*
Gilmer Salisbury & Co.
McSalisbury

THIS PASS IS VOID UNLESS COUNTERSIGNED BY
OVER

This Pass is Good over all Lines in Utah, California, Colorado, Nevada, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington Territory, Idaho, Dakota, Montana and Wyoming.

Gilmer, Salisbury & Co's Stage Lines.

This Ticket is issued by the above named Company, and accepted by the person herein named, on the conditions herein set forth:
The person who accepts this Ticket thereby assumes all risk of accidents, and in consideration of its receipt, expressly agrees that the above Company shall not be liable under any circumstances, whether by negligence—criminal or otherwise—of its agents or others, for any injury to the person, or for loss or injury to property while using this Ticket, and that as to such person the above Company shall not be considered as common carriers, or liable as such.

NOT TRANSFERABLE.

This Ticket is NOT TRANSFERABLE, and if presented by any other person than the party issued to, the Agent will take it up, collecting FULL STAGE FARE.

I hereby agree that this Ticket is subject to the above condition.

Sheldon Jackson
1880. (SIGN IN INK.)

The party to whom this Ticket is issued must affix signature (over stamp) before presenting it for passage. Agents will not recognize this Ticket until so signed.

"WHY HE COULD AFFORD TO TRAVEL."

Facsimile of an annual stage pass covering fourteen states and territories. Without free transportation on stage lines, railroads, steamships, U. S. revenue cutters and naval vessels, the extent of Dr. Jackson's work would have been greatly abridged.

He has proved to be one of the most energetic, self-denying, useful men in the Far West. When he mounts his horse at Denver he is not so far from the equator as he is from the most neglected part of his own district. Mount Franklin, in the edge of the Polar Sea, is nearer New York than the distance Sheldon Jackson travels in passing from the southeast corner of his parish to Sitka in the northwest. It is needless to say that this man, inured to hardship, and more enterprising than any commercial traveller, looks fully after every part of the work committed to him.

This work was of necessity exceptional, and in some respects without precedent. Much of it was beyond the limit or practical control of the presbyteries in which he laboured, and there was a necessity for personal supervision and the assumption of personal responsibility, which did not exist in the smaller fields and older settlements. His answer to those who charged him with undue assumption of authority in the prosecution of his work, was in substance this :—

“The field was so new and so vast that I could not confer with either presbytery or Mission Board. I was compelled to act on my own responsibility and judgment. But upon the first opportunity, which was usually not longer than six months, I reported to presbytery my action, which was then ratified, and the churches I had organized were received and enrolled, by action of presbytery, in due form. As the area of the territory was cut up into smaller divisions, the presbyteries were able to look after their destitute fields more efficiently, and I was not obliged to take so much responsibility. In the earlier days, however, it was only by assuming responsibility that I was able to accomplish my work.”

District supervision was more popular with the New School branch than with the Old, in the decade which preceded the Union, and the employment of field or district secretaries,—as they were termed—to meet the new

and unprecedented conditions which had arisen, resulted in a marked increase of interest, and of contributions also, in connection with the work on the frontier.

In the Old School branch, they were designated as district missionaries. The initial letters of this title were sometimes facetiously interpreted to mean Doctor of Missions, a degree more honourable in the case of some of these faithful servants of the Church than any subsequent honour conferred upon them by the favour of college or university. The appointment of able and alert men for this work was a concession to the labourers at the front, but the necessity for this action was not clearly apprehended by many in the church, while by others it was regarded as a dangerous departure in the direction of prelacy or unauthorized assumption of power. After the reunion, the importance of this exceptional pioneer work was more fully recognized, and those who were commissioned to engage in it were designated as synodical missionaries. The temporary character of the work was emphasized, however, by the requirement that the recommendation for such appointments should be made year by year, and a renewal was never granted except at the request of the body within whose bounds the service was to be rendered. As thus guarded and limited, it has become an accepted agency of the Church and is in reality as thoroughly Presbyterian in its workings as any other office of representative character which has been called into being to meet the exigencies of aggressive mission work. The colourless designation—synodical missionary—which might apply with equal propriety to any missionary of the synod, does not convey an adequate idea, however, of the timely and splendid service which such men as Henry Little, A. J. Norton, Timothy Hill, Thos. Frazer on the Pacific slope and Sheldon Jackson rendered to the Church in this critical period of awakening and opportunity.

They were the heralds of the Good Tidings, the advisers and helpers of discouraged missionaries and struggling churches, the organizers of Christian society, the leaders of men by Divine ordering and appointment, who, with consummate ability, each in his place, superintended the mission work in the important field committed to his care.

The publication of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* was commenced at Denver, March, 1871, with the design of bringing the Presbyterians of the territories into closer communication with each other; and also of making the churches of the East acquainted with the urgent needs and marvellous possibilities of this new land. Sheldon Jackson was its sole editor and proprietor; and during the ten years of its existence it was sent to all the ministers on the Assembly-roll,—free of charge. Where gifts or subscriptions were sent by churches or individuals they were received with thanks. The writer has seen scores of letters of appreciation and thankful acknowledgment for helpful information received through its columns, and in one of these there is mention of a gift of \$500, which was sent by an appreciative friend to assist in the expense of its publication. Thus with pen and tongue and pictorial illustration the living realities of the mission work on the frontier were kept before the minds of the Church and its ministry.

During the entire period of Dr. Jackson's missionary labours in this Rocky Mountain Synod, the executive department of the Home Mission Board was administered jointly by Drs. Henry Kendall and Cyrus Dickson. In these great and good men, who "had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do," the missionaries on the frontier found generous supporters and sympathetic helpers in their aggressive work. The period in which they served the Church in this capacity was pre-eminently the hour of advance and opportunity; and

never in its history was the cause they represented advocated with more ability or managed with greater efficiency.

Dr. Kendall had served the New School Church in the same capacity for nine years before he was called to this position in the United Church ; he was thoroughly conversant with the whole field, in so far as it was opened up to civilization and settlement. In 1864, he crossed the plains with the gold-seekers and adventurers and visited many of the most notable settlements and mining camps as far west as Nevada, California, and Oregon, in order that he might more intelligently provide for their spiritual interests.

Dr. Kendall was tall in stature, dignified in bearing, impressive in appearance, and winsome in manner, despite the look of sternness which sometimes came over his face. When he rose to speak on his favourite theme, he was the very embodiment of a man charged with a message of thrilling import—a message which came from a heart all aglow with devotion to God and country.

Dr. Dickson, the representative of the Old School branch of the Church, was called to this service from a church in Baltimore. He regarded the office, which came to him unsought, as one of commanding influence and importance ; and when at length the way was clear to its acceptance he gave himself unreservedly to its claims and duties.

He was not so impressive in appearance, so deliberate in judgment, or so masterful in influence over men, as his stalwart colleague, but he stood foremost among all the platform orators of his day, when pleading the cause of the men at the front ; or when seeking to arouse the Church to a sense of its responsibility and duty in connection with the winning of the whole land for Christ. His addresses on such occasions were rare combinations

of argument and appeal, tenderness and pathos, wit and wisdom ; and as he rose to the full tide of eloquence his face glowed with the deep feeling which stirred his own soul, and the entire audience was held as though spell-bound to the last word.

The authority exercised by these notable "chiefs of the captains" was sometimes questioned, and their acts were frequently the subjects of severe criticism,—as in the case of their agents and representatives in the mission field,—but it was a time when a firm hand was needed : and, as new issues arose, they could only be met by the exercise of a discretionary power which sometimes seemed at variance with the precedents and traditions of the past. The results of their work, as we see them to-day, however, are the best justification of the course they pursued.

The variety and aggressive character of Sheldon Jackson's work, under their inspiration and direction, may be inferred from the following items, culled from his annual report to the Board for 1871,—the first full year of his labours within the bounds of the Colorado Synod:—

Churches organized—5 ; churches supplied with preaching services—15 ; ministers located—8 ; houses of worship built or in process of building—6 ; lot secured for church buildings—37 ; funds secured outside the field—\$4,000 ; amount saved to the Board for transportation of self and missionaries, by securing passes or reduced rates—\$3,000 ; total of miles travelled in prosecution of the work—29,055.

Later reports show an increasing amount of responsibility, correspondence, and travel, and one is at a loss to know how enough waking hours could be secured during the busy years of that memorable decade for the work which was undertaken and accomplished.

Thus were the foundations laid within this vast and rapidly-growing empire for the strong and vigorous

churches which have influenced the thought and governed the life of many thousands of its inhabitants for an entire generation, and have given to Christianity, of the Presbyterian type, a place of commanding influence throughout the Rocky Mountain regions.

The details of the work, as inaugurated and carried on by Sheldon Jackson and his associates in each of the immense territories included in this synod, will be told in the chapters which follow. It is fitting, however, that mention be made in this place of the wonderful growth of these organizations in the entire field, as shown by the most recent reports to the General Assembly, the latest being for the year 1907 :—

In 1870, there were in this great Midland Synod but eight feeble churches (not one of which was self-supporting) six ministers, and three presbyteries, with scarcely a quorum in either of them for the transaction of business. Within the same limits, as shown by the statistical report of 1908, there are now sixteen presbyteries, 315 ordained ministers and 367 churches. The aggregate of the offerings made by these churches during the year was more than twenty million dollars. Where one synod held the ground in 1870 there are now four synods; where the membership in the aggregate was less than 500, there are now 32,007 communicant members, and a Sabbath-school membership of 34,018; where there were no distinctively Christian schools or colleges, there are now four colleges and fifty-three schools for the exceptional population under the care of the Woman's Board of Home Missions, itself an outgrowth of the work of the same synod.

This is the Lord's doing,—albeit through the use of human instrumentalities,—and it is marvellous in our eyes.

VIII

PIONEER WORK IN COLORADO

“Zeal and duty are not slow ;
But on occasion’s forelock watchful wait.”

—Milton.

THE territory of Colorado, which was carved out of the richest section of the Rocky Mountains, covered a spacious domain, larger than the combined areas of the states of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. Its reach from north to south is 280 miles ; from east to west, 370 miles. It came into being as a distinct province of the United States in 1861, the fateful year which ushered in the Civil War. Its growth in population was seriously retarded by this great struggle ; and for some time after its close the Indians were a constant menace to those who attempted to cross the plains by coach or with the emigrant trains. As this memorable decade drew to its close, the way to the mountains was made easy and safe by the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad. About the same time, rich deposits of silver were discovered in some sections of the mountains and a new impulse was given to emigration and the development of the country.

When Sheldon Jackson reached Denver, in the month of February, 1870, he found a typical Western town with only 4,000 inhabitants. It was all astir with life, however, and the prophecy of its coming greatness could be distinctly read in the movements on foot for its enlarge-

ment and easy communication with the outside world, as well as in the confident assertions of its zealous promoters and public-spirited citizens. That this confidence was not misplaced, was attested by the increase of its population in two years from this date to 10,000 souls. On the 28th of June, 1870, the first train on the Denver Pacific road entered the city of Denver, and from this date regular connections were made with the transcontinental road at Cheyenne. In the summer of the same year, the Kansas Pacific pushed its way across the plains to Denver, opening up direct communication with the East. Meanwhile, preparations were being made for the building of a railroad southward to Pueblo, and of a narrow-gauge line westward into the heart of the mining regions in the mountains. There were evidences, also, of awakening interest and unusual developments in all the towns and mining settlements of the territory.

Recognizing in these signs of the times the hour of opportunity, this indefatigable missionary of the cross, whose enthusiasm in his Master's cause was as intense as it was contagious, took up at once the burden of responsibility, which, in the providence of God, had been assigned to him. After a brief conference with the brethren of the newly constituted presbytery, with respect to the supply of the most needy places, he engaged passage for the Monday morning following in a stage-coach bound for Southern Colorado.

The route was over the Arkansas Divide, better known as the "Stormy Divide," whose summit, some fifty miles south of Denver, rises to an altitude approximating that of Sherman, the highest point on the line of the Union Pacific road. The objective point of the first day's journey was Colorado City, at the base of Pike's Peak, about eighty miles from Denver. Mr. Jackson's fellow travellers on this trip were a ranchman, an ex-member

of the legislature, a Spanish speculator, a French miner, and an invalid from the East. All were heavily armed, and the principal topic of conversation was a horse race which was to take place in the southern part of the territory the next day. After a time the fumes of tobacco became so dense that the missionary contingent of this oddly assorted party was obliged to take refuge with the driver on the box outside. His destination was reached in safety late in the night. The next morning diligent search was made for members or adherents of the Presbyterian Church, but without success. Afterwards, ten or twelve communicant members were found, but as he went from house to house that morning his questions were almost uniformly met with the response,—“There are none in this section.” While making an attempt to secure a building belonging to the Methodist Church for a public meeting, a man came up to him in haste, as if fearful he might escape him, and, seizing his hand, said, “I am John Irvine, a Presbyterian elder. I have heard that you are a Presbyterian minister, and I want you to come with me to my home.” “Yes,” was the reply, “I am ; and will go with you with pleasure. Where do you live?” “About twenty-five miles down here,” said the man, pointing in the direction he expected to take. This reply was a little startling for the moment, but Mr. Jackson reaffirmed his acceptance of the invitation, and soon thereafter the start for this unexpected journey was made.

A good pair of mules, in fine condition, and accustomed to the road, made the miles appear short, and in due time the ranch of John Irvine was reached. The next morning, Mr. Irvine's son was mounted on a broncho and sent forth to summon the people of the neighbourhood to a preaching service in the evening. At the appointed time, an attentive congregation, numbering sixty persons, was assembled in two of the adjacent rooms of the house.

Under this hospitable roof, two days were spent with pleasure and profit, and, on the morning of the third, the guest whom they had welcomed so heartily in the name of his Master, was furnished with a pony and rode to Pueblo on the Arkansas River. On the Sabbath following—February 27th—a large assembly which filled the court room of the place to overflowing, attested the interest felt in the organization of a Presbyterian church. This organization was effected with four members, John Irvine and his wife living on a ranch sixteen miles distant, and two women living in the village. John Irvine was chosen and installed ruling elder. The Methodist minister of the village and a minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, who had travelled forty-five miles for the purpose, took part in this service, and also in the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which immediately followed it. This service, reviving so many precious associations of worship in far-away Eastern homes, was one of unusual tenderness and heartfelt joy. "The preciousness of such scenes," says Dr. Jackson, "as were witnessed on that Sabbath, in this frontier village, must be seen and felt to be realized. Could our young ministers know of the joy of such labours, they would the more earnestly ask to be sent to the front."

This was the first church organized by the superintendent of missions in Colorado, and the results have abundantly attested the wisdom of establishing and nourishing it in the day of small things. The following tribute of appreciation from Edward Trumbull Lee, D. D., LL. D., a former pastor of this church, is worthy of a place in this connection :—

Dr. Jackson was a wonder in those busy days. He was raised up of God to do that important work. The church which I served in Pueblo, the First Presbyterian, was organized by him with four members, three of whom were women,

and one of the women was the wife of the one man. Now that church worships in a fifty thousand dollar stone building, all paid for; has over five hundred members, and is the mother of four other churches in the same town, three of which are self-supporting; and one of them, the Mesa church, is vigorous and strong. No work tells so powerfully as work done for God. It is the greatest work on earth. What are the conquests of Alexander or Napoleon in comparison with the conquests of Marcus Whitman and Sheldon Jackson! I take off my hat to these two missionaries. The latter was made moderator of our General Assembly, and the Church was never more honoured by the personality which occupied the moderator's chair than in that Assembly.

On the day following the Sabbath spent at Pueblo, a church was organized at Colorado City, with five members. Four years later, this congregation transferred its membership to the more favourably located church at Colorado Springs. Meanwhile, it did its appointed work in a needy community. The return journey was made by stage-coach to Denver. The following morning, the superintendent started on another circuit, which included the principal mining settlements in the heart of the mountains. Six spirited horses drew the large Concord coach in which he had taken passage, at a rapid pace over the plains to the foothills, up a famous cañon amid scenes of savage grandeur, and over three mountain ridges covered with snow to Gregory Gulch, the most notable at that time of all the gold-mining settlements in the territory. From this place a trip was made to Georgetown, the centre of the silver-mining district, twenty miles distant, where a church of sixteen members was organized. The next day, Mr. Jackson attended an adjourned meeting of presbytery at Black Hawk. During the session of this body he went over with a committee to Idaho Springs, where a church with thirteen members was organized. On the return journey, another church

was organized at Golden, situated at the gateway of Clear Creek Cañon, with four members. Thus within a fortnight of the most inclement season of the year services were held at several widely separated points and six churches were organized, all of which, except the one merged into the prosperous church of Colorado Springs, remain and are in good condition to-day. The number of miles travelled on this double circuit, by stage or other conveyance, was but little short of five hundred.

With the understanding that his field of labour would be restricted to the mountain territories already named, under the adjustments about to be made by the secretaries of the united church, Sheldon Jackson decided to transfer his place of residence to Denver,—then the key to all the Rocky Mountain territories—as soon as he could complete the work he had undertaken in the interests of the churches in Nebraska and Western Iowa. In anticipation of this removal, he purchased some desirable lots in one of the new additions, before he left Denver. At a subsequent visit, in July, he contracted for the building of a house. On the 5th of August, he shipped his household goods to Denver, and came on in advance of his family to look after some important interests of the work in Colorado and New Mexico. One of the immediate results of his labours at this time was the organization of a church at Greeley. This place was laid out by the “Union Colony” of New York, in the spring of 1870, as a temperance settlement; and from the first it was noted for its thrift, intelligence, and high moral tone. The Presbyterian church, because of this timely action, has been an important factor in the religious development of the community, as well as in the town since its establishment. At the present time it has an enrollment of 250 communicants. As soon as he had completed the work he had outlined for this tour, Mr. Jackson went to Gales-

burg for his family, and returned with them to Denver on the 24th of September. Soon after their arrival, Mrs. Jackson was prostrated with a fever. About the same time two of her daughters developed symptoms of scarletina, which took its usual course without serious results. Not long afterwards, the infant daughter of the household was stricken with a disease which baffled the skill of the physicians, and in the end proved to be fatal. This little one, born at Council Bluffs on the 1st day of January, 1870, was named "Louise," after her aunt, Louise Jackson Norcross, Mr. Jackson's only sister. On the day following her death—October 31st—the bereaved father carried the precious remains back to Galesburg, where they were interred by the side of "Mary Helen," another child of the household who died at this place September 28, 1861.

Denver was the home of the Jackson family for almost eleven years, but it was only at rare intervals during this period that the head of the household had the opportunity to spend an unbroken fortnight or more with his family in the enjoyment of it. Its doors were always open, however, to the wayfaring minister or the tourist from the East, who sought information concerning this vast missionary field; and there were but few of the missionary labourers who entered it, in the early days, who did not find in this hospitable home a resting-place and a warm welcome after the fatiguing experiences of a long overland journey. With easy grace and wonderful skill, Mrs. Jackson ordered the affairs of her household, despite the extraordinary demands which were oftentimes made upon her time and strength, and, in some instances, upon her patience, also. Such as she had for the use of her own family she gave to her stranger guests without display or apology, in the spirit and with the grace of genuine hospitality.

Of Mary Jackson's part in the great work to which her husband was so fully committed, not much has been written, except in the book of remembrance on high ; but in the administration of this service, so faithfully rendered in the Master's name, it may be truly recorded of her : "She hath done what she could."

The growth of population and the development of new industries throughout the territory were so rapid and continuous prior to its admission as a state, in the year 1876, that the superintendent was obliged to give to it a larger portion of his time than to all the remainder of his great field combined. While constantly on the alert for favourable times and opportunities to plant churches in the new centres of growth and influence, he had more than enough work to occupy his full time in supplying, strengthening, and keeping alive the feeble churches already established. At a later period, it was comparatively easy to secure temporary supplies until pastors could be secured, but at this time there were not enough resident or visiting ministers to keep pace with the growth of the country and the necessary extension of the Church and its privileges. Hence, for some years after his removal to Denver, Sheldon Jackson went from church to church preaching on the Sabbath, administering the sacraments, presiding at congregational meetings, giving counsel, aid, and encouragement ; and, in so far as possible, consistently with the claims of other portions of his field, doing for the community within his reach the full work of a pastor at large. These roundabout journeys, undertaken at all seasons of the year, covered distances ranging from thirty to two hundred miles.

During this period sixteen churches, exclusive of the six already mentioned, were organized. Three of this number were in mining camps, where they served their



SHELDON JACKSON. 1880.



MRS. SHELDON JACKSON. 1880.

purpose for a time and were disbanded by the removal of the population; another at Evans, the seat of a colony organized in 1870, was merged in 1877 with the church of Greeley. Seven of the fourteen which remain to this day report communicant members as follows:—(1907) Trinidad, 233; Longmont, 235; Collins, 482; Boulder, 801; Cañon City, 836; Colorado Springs, 1,290. The last named organization is the mother of two churches in the same city, and has a national reputation for its efficiency, missionary zeal, and generous responses to the various beneficent agencies of the Church. This church, organized with eleven members, July 2, 1872, on a site which less than a year before was a rolling mesa without inhabitants, and worth but \$1.25 per acre, was carefully nurtured for several years by the Home Board, amid many discouragements and reverses, but it has grandly repaid all the labour and care expended upon it. Within the past decade (1897–1907), it has contributed more than \$100,000 for congregational expenses and a sum total of nearly \$25,000 for the work of the several Boards.

In the newer portions of the country there were many places at this time in which it was not advisable to establish churches, because of the shifting character of the population, where multitudes were living without the privileges of the Gospel, to whom Mr. Jackson ministered, as he had opportunity, on his journeys back and forth among the churches. His vacation tours among the mountains afforded the opportunity to visit many an out-of-the-way camp or community, where he had the privilege of preaching the Gospel for the first time. An instance in point is given by Dr. H. M. Field, who spent a portion of the summer of 1871 in Colorado. At the close of an interesting description of the country and the condition of the churches, he adds:—

That indefatigable worker, the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, is prospecting around in all parts of the territory, hunting up lost sheep on the mountains and sowing the good seed by all waters. At a mining camp on Mount Bross, where as yet only two of the workmen had brought their families and were living in homes, the question was asked, "Do you ever have preaching up here?" "Oh, yes," was the reply, "Sheldon Jackson was here last Sunday and we all met in this building—a house for crushing ore—the largest in the place; and he stood upon the engine and gave us a rousing sermon." That, says the writer, is the sort of men needed in these frontier settlements—men who can "stand on an engine" and preach. My friend Jackson, I know, would not hesitate, if he thought he could reach an old hardened sinner, to mount a locomotive and let fly a Gospel message at a group by the wayside while going at a speed of forty miles an hour.

The following extract from the correspondence of the Rev. Dr. Robert F. Sample, who spent the summer of 1873 in Colorado, is specially valuable because of his opportunities to form a personal judgment, at first hand, of the character of the work which this pioneer missionary of the Church had done or was attempting to do:—

Nearly all the evangelical churches have entered the territory. Presbyterianism, however, has gone to the front, and we find a church of our order at many important points. Along the railway and stage routes, among the mining districts, and in agricultural settlements, we have taken the initiative in evangelistic work. For all this we are largely indebted to the earnest and self-denying labours of Sheldon Jackson, superintendent of missions for Colorado, New Mexico, Montana, Wyoming, and Utah. A Zaccheus in stature, he ascends mountains and overlooks the land. We have known him to travel for forty-eight hours in a stage-coach, reaching his destination in the morning, preaching three times on the day of his arrival, arranging for the settlement of a pastor, and laying the foundations of a temporary manse, which was completed and occupied by a young minister and his wife before the next Sabbath. And a few days later, perhaps, in Utah or Montana, printed placards announce that this untiring evangelist will

preach in the hall above a lager beer saloon, or in the dining-room of a hotel. Meanwhile, the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, the only religious newspaper in Colorado, is published and scattered abroad; and scores of letters to missionaries, or those who are preparing to labour in the great home field, have been written. The Church is beginning to appreciate the labours of such men, and honours the pioneers in the Master's work, who lay the foundations of Presbyterianism in the scattered settlements of the great West.

An evidence of appreciation in keeping with this intimation was given in the year following by Hanover College, Indiana, itself the direct product of home mission labours, in the conferring of the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity upon Sheldon Jackson.

In the roundabout journeys, to which reference has been made, there were perils to be faced as well as hardships and discomforts to be endured. Some of these were incident to the rude civilization of the time in the more remote sections of the country and the reckless assumption of risks by those who were charged with the duty of speeding the traveller on his way. The writer can recall some down grade experiences of travel by stage-coach in Colorado in the early seventies, which for swiftness of descent and reckless rounding of curves would match the famous ride of Horace Greeley in the Sierra Nevadas; but through all such experiences, so frequent that they became commonplace, he escaped without loss of life or limb.

On one of his winter journeys he was delayed for thirty-six hours by snow-drifts on the Arkansas Divide. On another occasion, while attempting to board a stage-coach a mile and a half from his camping-place, in order to fill an appointment at Pueblo, he unconsciously assumed the rôle of a road-agent and for a few moments faced one of the most perilous experiences of his life. It so happened that the coach, which was due at this point

about midnight, carried on that trip a sheriff and his posse who were bringing a noted desperado to the county seat for trial. While on the way this party had received notice that an attempt would be made at some point to "hold up" the stage-coach and rescue the prisoner. When Dr. Jackson, intent only upon reaching his destination, appeared by the roadside between stations at this unseemly hour, and signalled the driver to stop, the guards on the alert within naturally associated him with the leadership of a band of brigands in ambush. Before he could explain the situation, or even comprehend its full significance, a half dozen revolvers, thrust out from the coach, covered his person at close range and the ominous click of the hammers which accompanied this action warned him that there was but the trembling of a finger between him and instant death. It is needless to say that he surrendered unconditionally; and when the whole matter was made clear was cordially welcomed to the fellowship of the inmates of the coach.

After the adjournment of the General Assembly of 1871, which had held its sessions at Chicago, a number of the commissioners with their wives and personal friends took advantage of special privileges accorded by the railroad companies to extend their journey across the plains to the city of Denver. To supplement this arrangement, Sheldon Jackson, with his usual alertness and tact, secured reduced rates for a round trip of several days among the mountains, and when they were ready to leave Denver to make this round he conducted the party in person. While at Georgetown, the seat of the silver-mining region, the opportunity was given to ascend Grey's Peak. A limited number of the company, including the Hon. Felix Brunot, chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Dr. H. Kendall, secretary of the Home Board, Mrs. Kendall, and two friends, and Thomas Cree of

Pittsburg, availed themselves of this opportunity. After they had "viewed the landscape o'er from this magnificent outlook" of the continent, the party returned to the place where they had left their carriages. In ascending the mountain, Dr. and Mrs. Kendall had occupied a seat in a carriage with Dr. Jackson, but on account of the steep grade at or near this point Mrs. Kendall decided to continue the journey on horseback. For the same reason, Dr. Kendall announced his intention of walking down the steepest part of the incline near the Terrible works, and left the carriage. Dr. Jackson, who was driving the team, was carefully working his way down the mountain when suddenly one of the horses shied at something in or near the road and pressed the other to the edge of the embankment on the opposite side. Seeing his peril, and utterly unable to check the momentum of the vehicle, he leaped out on the road, but not an instant too soon, for the horses and carriage went over the slight barrier which guarded the road and plunged downward, almost perpendicularly, to the bed of a rushing stream, nearly one hundred and fifty feet below. The carriage was completely wrecked, but, strange as it may seem, the horses were not killed. One of them, when freed from the harness, rolled over into the stream and was carried down through swirling rapids and by immense outjutting rocks to a dam a quarter of a mile below. When rescued from its perilous position, the horse, with the exception of a few cuts and bruises, was found to be in fairly good condition. "The escape," says one of the party, "was most marvellous, and had Dr. and Mrs. Kendall been in the carriage at the time they could hardly have escaped certain death."

At the meeting of the Assembly of 1874, at St. Louis, Dr. Jackson arranged for another excursion to Colorado on a larger scale, and in response to notices given during

the sessions of that body, about one hundred persons, including many notable men and women from all quarters of the land, were enrolled for the journey. This party from first to last was conducted and cared for by this busy agent of the Church in the Rocky Mountains, and one of its avowed objects was to afford the opportunity to see for themselves and those whom they represented, the actual condition and marvellous possibilities of the vast region so recently opened to the evangelizing influences and operations of the churches. On the return of the excursionists from the mountain, where they received many favours from friends and officials of the transportation lines, they were notified that arrangements had been made for another journey, at the expense of the railroad company, to Colorado Springs and Pueblo, including on the return journey a Sabbath at Manitou, and on the following day a visit to the Garden of the Gods. This round, including carriages and hotel accommodations, was made without charge to their visitors, through the generous co-operation of the residents of the places named with the railroad company ; but back of it all was the unseen hand of the missionary bishop who had won the confidence of these advance agents of civilization and who had been one of their most efficient helpers in the dissemination of information concerning the interests they were labouring to advance. Among the direct results of this visit, were the securing of a pastor for one of the vacant churches of Denver and gifts, in the aggregate, of several hundred dollars from interested persons in aid of some of the financially embarrassed churches.

In concluding an interesting account of this excursion, the Rev. Dr. J. W. Allen writes :—

We had for our leader the indomitable Sheldon Jackson, superintendent for this Rocky Mountain region. His name is already the synonym of energy and efficiency, and is known

throughout the Church, wherever home missions has a home in the hearts of the people. He has greatly endeared himself to the members of this excursion, who represent all parts of our Church, from New York to the Rocky Mountains. He has called our attention to his field of labour and shown us its wants, giving us knowledge and impressions which could only be gained by personal observation. Every one who has made the tour will in the future take a deeper interest in the evangelization of this section of the land.

When Colorado was admitted into the Union with fitting ceremonies and celebrations as the *Centennial* State, the Presbyterian Church was one of the most potent influences for good within its widely-extended borders. In the northern portion of the state, it had occupied all the strategic points and was strongly intrenched in the chief centres of industry and influence. With the passing of the days of territorial rule, the transformation from the unsettled conditions of frontier life to the quiet and orderly ways of civilized communities was rapid and continuous, and to this extent the urgent necessity for pioneer work in advance of presbyterial oversight and direction had practically ceased. From this date until he was transferred to a new field of labour Dr. Jackson gave the greater part of the time which could be spared from his work in the other portions of the synod, to the newer and more remote settlements and mining camps in the southern part of the state. Mingled with a horde of incoming settlers in this section there were more than twenty thousand Spanish-speaking people of Mexican descent, who in general were as ignorant of the first principles of evangelical religion as they were of the rudiments of a common school education.

In the spring of 1875, the Rev. Alexander M. Darley was sent to Del Norte with instructions to itinerate in all the accessible regions round about, and, if the way should

be clear, to make a visit to the San Juan country, on the western slope of the Sierra Madre range, into which multitudes were going to search for gold. By previous appointment, the superintendent met Mr. Darley at Del Norte and assisted him in the organization of a church at that place on the 11th of April. Mr. Darley had the privilege of preaching the first Presbyterian sermon in that portion of the state which lies to the west of the Sangre de Christo Mountains, as well as the first sermon in the San Juan region, on the Pacific slope of the Continental Divide. In this important work, which was attended with hardship and peril, Darley was ably assisted for a time by a younger brother, George M. Darley, a skilled mechanic, who had given up a lucrative position to study for the ministry. Under the tutelage of his brother, George Darley supported himself by the labour of his hands, preaching and holding services for prayer in the mining camps and on the outposts, as he had opportunity.

At Lake City, he built the first Presbyterian house of worship on the Pacific slope of the great Divide, and for the most part with his own hands. In order to hasten its progress as it approached completion, he laboured through a period of thirty-six hours without sleep or rest, except the brief pauses at meal-times. While engaged in this work, he preached at this and other points in reach on the Sabbath. For some time before his ordination, in which the writer was privileged to have a part, young Darley was encouraged to exercise his gifts in ministering to those in this neglected region, who were as sheep without a shepherd, and nobly did he respond to the trust which was committed to his hands. At this time, and in later years, he was a typical representative of the noble band of missionaries on the frontier who laboured zealously in season and out of season, courageously and without com-

plaint, to plant the banner of the Cross on the very skirmishing line of the army of occupation. His devoted wife, a woman of rare culture and ability who was the first minister's wife of any denomination to cross the Sierra Madre range in Colorado, was just as truly a typical representative of the majority of the wives of our missionaries on the frontier. On one occasion it was necessary for her to cross the range over deep snow with her three small children to a point on the railroad one hundred and seventy miles from Lake City. The trip was made in a sleigh to the summit of the Cochetopa Pass, which was reached about midnight. A short distance beyond it, the sleigh was upset, owing to the carelessness of a drunken driver, and the passengers were thrown down the mountainside. Mrs. Darley, holding fast to her little babe, fell against a projecting rock, bruising her shoulder and cutting her face in several places, from which the blood flowed freely. One of her children fell near her and was not injured; the other child was found after a search of some minutes securely rolled up in his blankets and sound asleep. When the sleigh went over the road, the frightened horses ran away, leaving the little party in this exposed situation, in the midst of snow-drifts too deep for walking, without fire or shelter. The nearest station on the road was three miles away; but, fortunately, there was an army post about a mile from the Pass, and as the horses dashed past it a soldier on guard saw them and awoke the captain in command. A party of soldiers was at once sent out down the road. The first evidence they had of the wreck was a little roll of baby clothes in the snow. Following on with haste they soon found Mrs. Darley and the children, and offered to take them to a place of shelter. As one of them took up the little babe, Mrs. Darley noticed that he was a coloured man, and fearing that she had fallen into the hands of a gang of desperados,

at once asked who they were, and where they were taking her. In reply, the leader of the party assured her that he was an officer in the regular army and raising his lantern showed his shoulder straps. With this assurance she went with them to the camp where the soldiers did everything in their power to make the mother and children comfortable. The next day they were sent to the nearest town on the line of their journey, and two days thereafter reached the terminus of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Through experiences such as these, delicate women, as well as strong men, were sometimes called to pass, in order to carry the Gospel to the outposts of the regions beyond. With the laudable ambition to carry this message in advance of all other denominations to the new centres of coming influence in the San Juan region, Dr. Jackson requested Mr. Darley to visit one or two of the new towns farther to the west which were beginning to attract attention and were giving promise of rapid growth. One of these places was Ouray, on the other side of the Engineer Mountain. To make this journey, a round of 250 miles, it was necessary to take blankets and provisions, and for this purpose a "burro" was secured. Finding a young printer, who wished to go to Ouray, Mr. Darley joined forces with him and on the 20th of March they started out on foot driving the patient donkey, which carried the impedimenta, before them. The snow, which averaged a foot or two in depth, was found to be four or five feet in some places and the whole distance was through a wilderness without an inhabitant, except at the Ute Indian Agency. The first day they walked twenty-five miles, reaching a deserted log cabin. By the third day the bread by constant jolting upon the burro had become so fine as to necessitate eating it with a spoon; while the snow-storms were so continuous that much of the way they could not find any wood dry enough

to make a fire. The fourth night, in the midst of a severe snow-storm, they reached the Indian agency, having had altogether only about three hours' sleep in as many nights. One of these nights they were kept awake by the wolves, which came so near that they could hear the snap of their teeth. From constant exposure to the wet and cold, their limbs had swollen to nearly twice their natural size, making every effort to use them acutely painful.

During the last day's journey, which covered a reach of twenty-five miles, they forded the Uncompahgre River, a rushing mountain torrent of ice-water, waist deep, twenty-one times. At 8 o'clock P. M. their destination was reached. Thus the first minister of the Gospel reached Ouray. As one has expressed it,—“Pluck always wins in this country,” and, in view of the circumstances, it was not a surprising thing that many of the citizens of the place, of all denominations, rallied around the blue banner of Presbyterianism and gave their names for a church organization.

When the time came for the second trip to Ouray, the river was so swollen with the summer floods that the trail was impassable, and the only practicable route was over the main mountain range, the elevation of which was between thirteen and fourteen thousand feet. Dr. Jackson accompanied Mr. Darley on this journey and assisted him in the organization of the church. On the third trip, he canvassed the town to secure funds for the building of a house of worship, which was erected and dedicated in sixty days from the reception of the first contribution. In this, as in every other instance, the first church on the ground received the largest local support.

While crossing the Sierra Madre Mountains on snow-shoes, in the spring of 1877, this dauntless missionary and his companion, Gus Talbot, the veteran mail-carrier, were lost for more than three hours amid the snow-clouds

which drifted and surged around them, obscuring all the landmarks by the way. At one point on a trackless slope which they were descending, the mail-carrier plunged over a concealed cliff and disappeared from sight. At the same moment, Mr. Darley, seeing his peril, sprang aside while a great cake of snow gave way just at his feet. Recovering himself from the momentum of the swift descent, he returned to the spot where his friend had disappeared, and, to his great delight, found him emerging from the snowy bed into which he had fallen. Going more carefully, to avoid a similar experience, they came at length to the timber line. Amid the pines they found a temporary shelter, and a clue to the direction in which they wished to go. With renewed energy they pushed on towards Silverton, the objective point of their journey, some fifteen miles distant, which they reached almost at the point of exhaustion after nightfall. The next day Gus Talbot, the plucky mail-carrier, told the people of Silverton that they could tie to George M. Darley, for out of more than one hundred men who had attempted to travel with him over this route, the Presbyterian preacher was the only one that had the grit to keep with him all the way. On Monday, a subscription paper was started for a church building, and thus another outpost was taken possession of in the name of the Master.

An interesting account of Dr. Jackson's trip to Ouray with Mr. Darley was written for the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, from which the selection following is taken. The journey was undertaken, as already intimated, for the purpose of organizing a church.

After a pleasant Sabbath spent with the little church at Lake and the family of Mr. Darley, Mr. Darley and myself started on Monday morning for Ouray. Taking the stage to Capitol,

we rode up the cañon of Henson Creek for ten miles, between lofty rock-walls from 100 to 1,000 feet high. By noon we were at Capitol. After a good dinner, we shouldered our blankets and provisions and started on foot up the cañon. All along were beautiful waterfalls and cascades a thousand feet high. Here and there we passed where the avalanche had cut a broad swath down the mountainside, carrying away the trees, both stump and limbs. Five miles up, at the edge of the snow line, we came to a new log cabin, built by Messrs. Smith and Harris. Here we camped for the night.

About sundown the clouds began to gather and the snow to fall, and with it fell our hopes of crossing. But earnest prayer was made that He who causes the elements to do His bidding should so control them that we could get across. Soon the clouds floated away and the sky was clear again.

Our blankets were spread upon a pile of shingles and I was soon sleeping soundly. Mr. Darley, who could not sleep, kept the fire burning and amused himself by throwing chips at the chipmunks that played about the floor and ran over our beds. At 2 A. M., he woke me with the announcement that breakfast was ready. Eating breakfast of bacon, biscuit and coffee, by half-past three we were on our way to get over the crust before the morning sun should soften it.

We floundered over the fallen timber in the dark, felt our way over logs across the streams or waded them, and when boots and socks were thoroughly wet, we found a grim satisfaction in wading all subsequent streams rather than balance on an uncertain log. In an hour we were at timber line, or an elevation where timber ceases to grow. We now started zigzag up the vast field of frozen snow and ice. The air grew rarer and rarer, and breathing became more and more difficult. The wet boots became frozen and the wet feet ached as if they were freezing too. Up, and still up, we went. Each step the heel of the boot was driven firmly into the frozen snow—each one trying to step in the dent made by the one who preceded him. A misstep or slip would send the unlucky traveller whirling down the snow-face of the mountain, to be dashed in pieces on the rocks below. Every few steps, securing our heels in the snow, we would lie out at full length exhausted, heart thumping, nose bleeding, eyes running, and ears ringing. Sometimes the blood was forced from both eyes and ears. From near the summit a detached rock was sent whirl-

ing down the vast snow-field until a mile below it seemed like a top spinning on the floor.

Daylight was approaching and still we were painfully climbing, until, as the first rays of the morning sun were lighting up a hundred grand mountain peaks around, we gained the summit—13,500 feet. And from that summit what a panorama greeted our eyes! On either side was Mt. Sickels and Engineer's Peak. Off to the north, the great Uncompahgre Peak, 14,235 feet high, was head and shoulders above his fellows; far away to the west, in the dim blue distance, was the Wahsatch range of Utah; while as far as the eye could reach in every direction was a wilderness of peaks, and all covered with snow, with the exception of some rocks too steep for the snow to lie upon. Nothing but snow was visible—a Canadian January scene in the middle of June.

But it was too cold to tarry and we were soon plunging down the western face of the mountain. Where it was not too steep, we ran down the face of the snow, and where it was too steep for running, we would sit down and slide. And such a slide of a thousand feet at a breakneck speed might well be the great event of the season for the average schoolboy. Between running and sliding we were down in twenty minutes, a distance that on the other side had cost us two hours of painful climbing, and were at the first cabin on the head-waters of the Uncompahgre River. Without halting, we plunged down the cañon, as there was yet considerable snow to be crossed. The descent was rapid, and the trail bordered with a constant succession of waterfalls, any one of which would have repaid a trip of hundreds of miles. Soon after reaching timber line the snow ran out, and we had a succession of dry ground, mud, and fording the mountain torrents. Down we go until we reached Poughkeepsie Creek, which through a wild and almost inaccessible cañon joins the Uncompahgre from the west.

Here we lost the trail and got off into the fallen timber. By the time the trail was found, my feet were so blistered, travelling in wet and at times frozen boots, that I could go no farther. We were in the heart of the mountains, still ten miles from town. It was decided that Mr. Darley should leave the provisions and blankets with me, and then push on to Ouray and send back a horse to carry me in. Building a fire and spreading the blankets, I went to sleep, with my feet drying at

the fire. Four hours passed, and Mr. Darley returned without the horse. Shortly after leaving me, he had again become lost, and, wandering around, found himself at the bottom of a deep cañon, where the water of the mountain torrent filled from rock to rock shutting off all farther progress. To extricate himself from that gorge, he had climbed great pine-trees, that like stairs enabled him to get from one ledge of rock to another. On his return, he had met a miner going to Ouray, and, being too much exhausted to walk in with him, had sent a note informing the Presbyterians of our situation.

After a good rest in camp, a burro pack train came along and we hired our passage into Ouray on the same kind of an animal that the Saviour made His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. So, mounting a burro, without saddle or bridle, we started for town. The trail led up and down mountainsides so steep, that, going up, we had great difficulty in keeping from sliding off behind, and, in going down, we felt like bracing with our feet behind the animal's ears, and along the edge of precipices, where the giving away of a stone would send both animal and rider into the foaming river a thousand feet below. Just before reaching the village, we met a party with horses and provisions coming to our relief, and soon after we were safe among friends. An appointment was made for preaching, and on the evening of June 13th, after the sermon, the First Presbyterian Church of Ouray was organized.

In his book of recent date, "Pioneering in the San Juan,"¹ Mr. Darley,—now a doctor of divinity and an ex-college president—mentions the fact that in the spring of 1890, less than thirteen years after this perilous journey, he rode in a palace car through a portion of the same region and found prosperous towns, where in 1877 the Ute Indians and wild animals had full possession. In this connection the writer gratefully acknowledges his obligation to Dr. Darley for the valuable information he gleaned from this book of reminiscences. It gives the true story of a "Sky Pilot" of the mining camps, a story more

¹"Pioneering in the San Juan," Revell Co., New York.

wonderful in its details than any creation of fancy or romance.¹

In a letter to the *New York Evangelist*, from Denver, where he met Dr. Jackson after his return from this trip among the Sierras, Dr. Theodore Cuyler says :—

The most remarkable pioneer of missionary work here is that heroic Kit Carson of the Presbyterian Church, Sheldon Jackson. The brave little man jumped into our car on Saturday, just in from a tramp over the snow mountains, carrying his own blanket and provisions. He has been among the miners of the San Juan region, and is prospecting for mission stations in Arizona and New Mexico. He will soon start for Idaho and Oregon. Dr. Jackson is worth more to Colorado than any one of its richest gold or silver mines.

It is a far cry from the borders of Mexico to Sitka, in Alaska, but, if Dr. Cuyler had known all, he would have added this, also, for it too was included in the itineraries of that busy, eventful year.

It is easy to criticise such adventures as we have described as rash and injudicious, but those who have lived amid such spiritual destitutions as Sheldon Jackson and his associates sought to relieve, know and appreciate the value of prompt action at any cost of hardship or labour. As one has put it,—“The men who observe the wind and regard the clouds and consult their comfort are not the men to carry the Gospel to the ‘regions beyond.’ The men who are needed for such work must be willing to endure hardship, face danger, take the chances, and attempt seeming impossibilities, in the confident hope of victory in the end.”

Writing to an Eastern paper from the San Juan region,

¹ In August, 1889, Dr. W. H. Boyle, chairman of the home mission committee of the Presbytery of Pueblo, reported one dozen evangelists in that field who had received their education at the Del Norte Presbyterian College, of which for a time Dr. Darley was president.



The bearer of "good tidings" to the miners on the mountains of Colorado.

a well-known elder of one of the Pittsburg churches, Edward Copley, says :—

I have been here more than a year without being able to attend divine service, the nearest preaching station being Silverton, twelve miles distant. By the zeal and foresight of Dr. Sheldon Jackson, the Presbyterian denomination has churches established at several of the most important points. These are exerting a good influence and are doing much to check forgetfulness of God and a disregard of His commands and all things sacred. By these, however, only a small portion of the population is reached as yet.

The discovery of a rich bed of carbonate ores, in which silver was the principal element, at Leadville, one hundred miles southwest of Denver, in the spring of 1878, gave a new impulse to the tide of population which was already setting in strongly towards the state of Colorado. In a few months, the fame of this mining camp went out through all the civilized world, and the rush of visitors and prospectors to this place and its immediate vicinity was unprecedented in the history of the country.

While journeying with a camping party, in the summer of 1877, the writer crossed the ridge where as yet this priceless hoard of treasure was hidden, and found about two dozen log huts amid the stumps of newly-felled trees and heaps of rubbish from partly opened mines. In a little more than a year from that date, the hamlet on this ridge had grown into a city of from eight to ten thousand inhabitants, with banks, and schools, and churches, and almost all the modern improvements of the older cities of the country. In the height of its prosperity, Leadville had a permanent population of over fifteen thousand, and it was estimated that not less than one hundred thousand persons had visited it in a single year.

In the midst of the wonderful excitement and frenzied activity which marked its beginnings, Sheldon Jackson appeared and carefully looked over the ground in the interests of the work for which he was commissioned. Securing the help of Mr. Harry L. Janeway, a licentiate who had just completed his course at the theological seminary, arrangements were made about the middle of July for regular preaching services, and on the 4th of August following a church was organized with thirteen members. A suitable building was erected a few months later. In less than four years from its organization, this church sent a contribution amounting to \$9,200 to the Board of Foreign Missions, and at the date of its fifth anniversary its total contributions amounted to the sum of \$26,640. During the same period, it had received 264 members and reported at its close a present membership of 217. This mountain city has long since settled down to the quiet orderly ways of the average Colorado town, but the church which was gathered in that memorable summer of 1878 still holds on its way and bears testimony to the enduring power and sanctifying influence of Divine truth. Its membership at the present time—1907—is 147, while its Sabbath-school has a membership of 378.

Dr. Henry C. McCook, of Philadelphia, visited this stirring city in the summer of 1879, and gave his impressions of the work which was being done on the field by the representatives of the Presbyterian Church, in a communication to the public press from which we make the following quotation :—

The Blue Banner floats in Leadville. And, what is still better, it has its own church fortress to float from ! It is an edifice of goodly proportions, with seatings for from three to four hundred. Its pine board walls are yet unpainted, the windows are of neat but cheap stained glass, the pews and

pulpit are in good taste and modern style. Here comes the missionary! He looks like a boy: but he has acquitted himself like a man, and with admirable modesty, judgment, and zeal has pushed his work. He bears the honoured name of Janeway,—a name that was once at the fore of our home mission work. This young brother finds that his health requires him to leave this field soon, and one of our best men should be sent to man the fort. Last winter, lumber, nails, pews, pulpit, organ, glass—everything—was freighted through mountain snows, over mountain ranges or passes. And when the great tide of humanity set in towards Leadville, with the opening spring, the house of God was there to welcome and shelter the worshippers. Thank the God of grace for the Christian love which conceived and the Christian liberality which sustains such enterprises as this. It is a happy day when the vigour of this Christian zeal for souls moves abreast of the zeal of man for worldly gear. Such enterprise has placed the Presbyterian Church at the *head* of the denominations in the Centennial State.

The Rev. Dr. Theodore Crowl, another distinguished visitor to Colorado during the same year, confirms the above statement and gives a reason for it from the standpoint of an observer in the Congregational Church:—

“A few weeks ago,” he writes, “I met a clergyman who had been sojourning in Colorado, who said to me,—‘Were I a Presbyterian I should remain in Colorado.’ The reason assigned by him for this remark was, in substance, that the Presbyterian Church had so completely occupied the field that there was little room left within the limits of the state for the Congregational Church. ‘You Presbyterians,’ he said, ‘have a major-general in Sheldon Jackson.’ I do not suppose that it was his aim to exclude other churches, but this remark shows that while Dr. Jackson finds time to interest the churches in the East in home mission work he is a most indefatigable worker in the field committed to his charge. If he finds time to look after Alaska, it is not because he neglects his work in the Rocky Mountains, but because of his tireless industry he can accomplish more than two or three synodical missionaries. Let

nothing be done to discourage Dr. Jackson in his great work. He is a workman that needeth not to be ashamed."

"It is too funny for anything," writes a correspondent of the *Congregationalist and Boston Recorder*, "that a missionary secretary, and a superintendent for Colorado and one for Utah and that best of territories perched upon the Rockies, and one for the sunny slope should all be confronting Dr. Sheldon Jackson, who for so many years has had it pretty much his own way out there, driving the stakes of his Presbyterian claims about as soon as the miners had driven theirs. But these worthy knights will have to spur their steeds, for that Kit Carson of Presbyterianism, as Dr. Cuyler calls him, has cut loose from his old camp and has already preëmpted the whole of Alaska. And when he gets to the outermost tip of land in Alaska, he will be as far west of Portland, Oregon, as that city is west of its namesake in Maine: and then he will probably annex the Sandwich Islands and establish a protectorate upon the opposite coast of China, and Mr. Gray of the Interior can't help it."

This testimony to the efficiency and tireless energy of Sheldon Jackson is specially valuable, because it is the voluntary admission of contemporaries and generous rivals in the same field of labour.

From the date of the organization of the church at Leadville until his removal from Denver, in the spring of 1881, Dr. Jackson gave almost the whole of his time to the needy fields and new forms of missionary activity, which were developing outside the borders of Colorado. His term of active labour in this field was limited, therefore, to a single decade (1870-1880). During this period of pioneer service the number of the churches was increased from four to thirty-eight; and at its close the Presbytery of Colorado was divided by act of the General Assembly into the Presbyteries of Denver and Pueblo. Thus were laid the foundations of a great synod, which occupies the ground held by the presbytery before its division and which has, within the limits of the state, at

the present time, four presbyteries and one hundred and forty-seven churches.¹

The immediate successor of Dr. Jackson in this field was the Rev. John G. Reid, one of the younger missionaries of the presbytery, who laboured zealously and successfully for three years in perfecting the organizations already formed, as well as in the extension of the privileges of the Gospel to the unreached masses and "exceptional populations" in the "regions beyond." In a recent communication, Mr. Reid gives his estimate of his predecessor and the value of his work as follows:—

In my judgment the chief elements in his career of phenomenal success were indomitable energy, utter disregard of obstacles or difficulties, absolute fearlessness along the line of what he saw to be duty, and a consuming devotion to the Presbyterian Church. Out of the latter grew almost every criticism that I ever heard upon him or his methods. Such mistakes as he may have made in his administration in those early days when he almost alone represented, and stood up for, Presbyterianism west of the Missouri River, must be laid to the charge of his superabundant zeal. In many important elements, particularly along the line to which God assigned him, Dr. Jackson was one of the greatest men the Presbyterian Church of the United States has ever produced. But for his indomitable, untiring, self-sacrificing labours, the history of the Rocky Mountain region would have been very different. As you and I look back thirty years to the "day of small things" we can hardly realize that what we now see in the strong churches, with their far-reaching influences for God and for good, had so insignificant a beginning. In our early ministry here we hoped for this issue. Dr. Jackson, with the eye of faith, "saw this day afar off,"—and was not only glad, but nerved and inspired to perfect those foundations which have made it possible—actual. The preservation in permanent form

¹ In 1899, Dr. Wm. H. Boyle, formerly pastor of the church of Colorado Springs, wrote, "The Presbyterians hold Colorado with their strong churches and have more than one hundred mission stations throughout the synod."

of the services which he rendered will be a partial repayment of the debt Presbyterianism in the great West owes to him and his memory.

The Church in whose interests these early pioneers of the Cross laboured so zealously has been greatly favoured in having as their successor the Rev. Thomas C. Kirkwood, D. D., who has supplemented their work through a period of more than twenty-one years, with wisdom, fidelity, and eminent success. Under his able and efficient administration Presbyterianism is still foremost among all the agencies for good within the limits of this richly dowered and rapidly growing Centennial State.

IX

PIONEER WORK IN WYOMING AND MONTANA

“The secret of life is not to do what one likes, but to try to like that which one has to do, and one does like it—in time.”

—*Dinah Muloch Craik.*

THE territory of Wyoming came into prominence in the early days of exploration and emigration, mainly because it afforded the most available thoroughfare, by way of the North Platte and Laramie Plateau, from the plains to the Pacific slope. The Indian trail which led across the southern portion of the territory to the cañons of Utah, gave place to the Overland Stage Route, and this again to the Union Pacific Railroad, which followed the same general course across the mountains.

In this rugged region there are but few streams and no navigable rivers, and hence the towns grew up in favourable locations along the line of the railroads. The main dependence of the settlers, early and late, has been on grazing or the development of its mineral resources. While rich in coal and other minerals which await their appointed time for utilization, the gold mines of the territory, once so promising, especially in the Sweetwater country and the Black Hills, did not prove to be so rich or so extensive as the indications seemed to warrant in the early days of its occupation.

For these reasons, the population of Wyoming has been slow of growth and the mission work within its borders has been limited to its prosperous towns along the line of

the railroads or in the chief centres of its mining operations among the mountains.

The churches of Cheyenne, Rawlins, and Laramie, on the line of the Union Pacific Railroad, were organized, as already stated, in the summer of 1869. After his removal to Denver, the superintendent made frequent trips to these places, in the interests of the churches already established, as well as for the purpose of supplying and developing other points which for the time, at least, needed the uplifting and transforming influences of the Gospel. By the assumption of personal responsibility and by persistent appeals to individuals and the Church at large, he secured funds for the erection of houses of worship at each of the places where churches were organized, and supplies for each point occupied, also, at the earliest possible moment.

The church at Rawlins was the first of this group to enjoy the advantages of a house of worship. This building, an attractive frame in Gothic style, with a seating capacity for about three hundred persons, was ordered in Chicago, and was shipped in sections so that it could be put together as a whole on the ground it was to occupy. Early in the month of March, the work was completed and Sheldon Jackson was summoned from Council Bluffs, over 700 miles away, to take part in its dedication. The setting apart of this building among the bleak mountains of the great dividing ridge of the continent to the worship of Almighty God, was an incident of more than ordinary interest. The building itself, a growth of marvellous rapidity, was the first Presbyterian house of worship in the three great contiguous territories of Wyoming, Montana, and Utah. It was the first of its kind, also, along the line of the Transcontinental Railway, from the valley of the Missouri River to the valley of the Sacramento, on the Pacific slope.

To those who loved the ways of Zion, the sight of this goodly structure, with its homelike appointments and its spire pointing heavenward, was a joy and inspiration.

The day of the dedication was cold and stormy. Drifting snows obstructed the pathways and piercing winds swept fiercely along the hillsides; but despite these hindrances and discomforts the people came from near and far to attend the service.

From Fort Steele, fifteen miles distant, came a company of United States soldiers, headed by their chaplain; and there were others who travelled twenty miles to have the privilege of once more worshipping God after the manner of their fathers.

A correspondent of the *Philadelphia Presbyterian* gives an incident in connection with the account of this service, which may be regarded as a fitting sequel.

“Just at the time,” he writes, “when these pleasant things were transpiring in this far Western town, a member of an Eastern church had his thoughts largely directed to the subject of church extension, as possibly affecting himself. Consulting with his pastor and the members of the session, they too were imbued with his spirit. The result was the voting by the church of \$1,000 yearly for the support of a missionary on the frontier. But the interest did not end here: it continued to grow, and ere long an additional subscription amounting to \$800 was devoted to the same purpose, with a view to adding another worker to the posts on the frontier. To give direction to these generous gifts, Sheldon Jackson was sent for and he laid,—as he only could—the field and the work to be done before them. Ere the evening was over, they unanimously voted to send a man to occupy the new church at Rawlins, with the understanding that Laramie, twenty miles farther east, was to be included in his pastorate.”

This generous provision—it may be added—was made by the Brainard Church of Easton, Pa. The name of the missionary who was commissioned for this field was

Franklin L. Arnold ; and there were few of our missionaries on the frontier who have had a better record for ability, faithfulness, and unselfish devotion to the responsible work committed to his hands.

Writing to Dr. Jackson, in response to a kind letter of sympathy from him after her father's death, his daughter, Mrs. Charles Stone, says :—

Among the memories of childhood your loved presence in our home stands out distinctly, and though we have not chanced to meet for many years, your voice and face are very clear to me. How we children looked forward to your visits, and how happy my dear parents always were in them ! Every step of your useful life has been followed by us with a feeling of proprietorship, and dear papa's prayers were often raised to God's throne for your work.

In touches such as these the secret of leadership and influence among men is clearly revealed.

In the autumn of 1870 a manse was erected at Laramie, and, in the following year, an effort was made to secure funds for a house of worship. The success of this movement was assured by the timely assistance of Mrs. Daniel Parish, of New York City, who contributed a memorial offering of \$3,000 for this purpose, and afterwards added to this generous gift an organ and a communion service. As a finishing touch to this good work, her husband placed a clear toned bell in the tower of the church. It was dedicated by Dr. Jackson, the pastor, and by others on the 4th of February, 1872.

The foundation for a house of worship at Cheyenne was laid in the autumn of 1869, but owing to some unexpected delays the building was not completed until late in the spring of 1870. It was dedicated on the 16th of July. At this service, Sheldon Jackson preached the sermon, and the pastor, Rev. Wm. G. Kephart, offered the dedi-

catory prayer. It appears from the record of this event that a collection was taken at this service which was sufficient to free the church from all indebtedness. Strictly speaking, this was true. There was a claim, however, which was not considered, because it was regarded by all to be unlawful and unjust, which afterwards brought the superintendent of this field into a very embarrassing situation. The facts relating to this claim have been briefly stated as follows :—

“In the contract for the building of the church, it was stipulated that it should be ceiled or plastered, according to the wish of the trustees as the work advanced. The contractor sent on a portion of the ceiling, which, when the trustees decided in favour of plastering, he sold to a resident of Cheyenne. The trustees went on and had the house plastered and in the final settlement offered the voucher of the plastering as so much payment in making up the contract price of the building. The builder refused to accept it, but demanded the same amount as if he himself had paid the plasterer. This the trustees refused to pay, as it would mean paying twice for the same thing.” Thus the matter ran on until the spring of 1871. When the General Assembly met at Chicago, Mr. Bridges, the builder of the church, finding Mr. Jackson at its sessions, had him arrested for the debt and bound over to appear at a subsequent meeting of the court in Chicago. The case was placed in the hands of attorneys, to whom were given all the papers, including contracts, vouchers, etc. Unfortunately, these papers were all destroyed in the great Chicago fire, in the fall of that year, and no defense was available to disprove the claim, except such as might be obtained from witnesses over one thousand miles away. Under these circumstances, Mr. Jackson's attorneys advised him to pay the bill, and thus save the imposition of further costs. The amount of the bill was

about \$500, and, as the church was unable to pay it, and the suit was in his name, he was obliged to borrow the money to satisfy the claim. Before the payment was made, the amount was reduced through an arrangement made by his attorney in Chicago to \$300 and costs. At a later date, this sum was collected and repaid to Dr. Jackson by some of his personal friends.

Thus, to the other extraordinary experiences of this pioneer missionary service, was added an arrest by an officer of the law for the Gospel's sake. In the spring of 1871, Dr. Jackson visited Evanston, a growing town near the border line of Utah, and after a thorough canvass of the place held a service in a hall over a saloon. Early in July of the same year, a church was organized at this place, which was supplied at regular intervals during the remainder of the year by the Rev. Mr. Arnold, of Laramie. Meanwhile, sufficient funds had been secured to erect a comfortable house of worship, which was finished January 1, 1872, and was dedicated on the 28th of April following. For the reasons already given, the way was not clear for the organization of any additional churches in the territory during the continuance of Sheldon Jackson's superintendency of the work of the synod.

At the second meeting of the Presbytery of Wyoming at Laramie, February 3, 1872, the following action was taken:—

We, the members of the Presbytery of Wyoming, take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation and entire satisfaction with the work and services of Brother Jackson, superintendent of missions in the large and interesting field over which he is placed, and particularly over that within the bounds of our presbytery. We take pleasure in endorsing his work, and hereby tender our thanks for the timely assistance which he has been instrumental in giving to our weak and struggling churches, his careful oversight and watchfulness, his untiring zeal, encouragement, and judicious counsel to our ministers and

people ; and, further, we recommend that he be reappointed superintendent of missions for the same field, for the ensuing year.

Than this, from his brethren and associates in the field, no commendation of his work could be more hearty, and no summary of this work for the cause of Christ in the territory of Wyoming could be more complete.

MONTANA

The territory of Montana, which ranked with the largest, richest, and most productive divisions of the Rocky Mountain system, was greatly hindered in its development for nearly two decades after its organization, by its isolation from the trade and commerce of the outside world. From the first inrush of settlers, on the discovery of gold in 1862, to the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, in 1869, Helena, which afterwards became the seat of government, was a thousand miles from any railroad station or seacoast port.

From this date, also, until the completion of the Northern Pacific and the Utah Northern, in 1881, the nearest point of communication by rail with Helena was about five hundred miles. This was the period of stage-coach and lumber-wagon transportation and civilization : and but for the lure of gold this "gem of the mountains" would have been, through this time of isolation, only a hunting-ground for the few : and to the many a *terra incognita*. During the entire period of his labours in and for Montana, Sheldon Jackson was handicapped by these hindrances to rapid development ; but he saw in advance the better day which improved facilities of travel was certain to bring, and patiently prepared the way for it. Unlike the territory of Wyoming, this was a goodly land throughout its whole extent : a domain larger

than all Great Britain and Ireland, with broad, rich valleys and a dozen rivers coursing through them, larger and more beautiful than the Mohawk and Juniata ; giving promise of unlimited water-power for manufactures and facilities for irrigation. Its rugged hillsides were covered with a dense growth of fir, cedar, and pine ; its mines ranked with the richest and most celebrated in the world, and its upland pasture ranges were capable of sustaining vast flocks and herds throughout the entire winter season, in good condition, without housing or other food than that which they cropped from the ground for their daily needs. In the light of its present development, it is apparent to the man of dullest vision that Montana was worth to the land and to the Church of God a thousand-fold more than it cost in toil and treasure in the early days of its discovery and settlement.

The pioneer minister of the Presbyterian Church in Montana was George Grantham Smith. He was sent out by the Committee of Home Missions (New School), of which Dr. H. Kendall was then the secretary. He reached Bannock, Idaho, in June, 1864, but his trunk, which was forwarded by freight, did not reach him until eighteen months after his arrival.

His stage fare from the Missouri River to Bannock was \$425, and \$75 additional to Virginia City, Montana, where he spent a portion of his time. Finding that his board at the hotel would cost him \$1,200 in greenbacks for twelve months, he decided to board himself and did his own cooking and washing in a log cabin twelve by eighteen feet, with a single pane of glass for a window. A bed tick and pillow, of coarse factory stuff which he filled with dried hay, cost him \$28, and at one time the market price of flour was \$500 per barrel. At Virginia City, he organized the first public schools, opened Sunday-schools, conducted regular prayer-meeting services,

preached as he had opportunity, married and buried the people, and was instrumental in closing all places of business on the Sabbath. He did not attempt to organize churches, for the reason that no Mission Board then in existence could maintain a missionary at a cost, for living expenses alone, of \$5,000 a year. In 1866, Mr. Smith left Montana by way of Fort Benton and the Missouri River.

Three years later, Sheldon Jackson made his first visit to Helena, over the stage route from Corinne in Utah, and organized a church of twelve members. Referring to his visit, the Rev. T. V. Moore, author of the "History of the First Presbyterian Church of Montana," says :—

Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., is the father of organized and permanent Presbyterianism in Montana. The first congregation he gathered in Helena was indeed a lonely little flock. There was not another church (except Indian missions) of the same denomination in a region stretching westward to Portland, Oregon, southward to Cheyenne, eastward to the churches of Minnesota, and northward to the pole. Dr. Jackson wrote at the time that there was not another Presbyterian church within a thousand miles of it.

When Mr. Jackson returned to Montana, in May, 1872—three years later—four ministers had been found to come here, three young men, the Rev. James R. Russel (now city librarian of Butte, Montana), Rev. Wm. S. Frackleton, and Rev. Wm. C. Rommell, and one older man, Rev. Lyman B. Crittenden, all of them Princeton Seminary men. They were authorized by the General Assembly, in session at Detroit during the same month, to plant, not a church only, but a presbytery in Montana. Mr. Rommel did not arrive until autumn. The other three, with the indefatigable Sheldon Jackson, proceeded to organize churches in Gallatin City, May 30, 1872; Bozeman, June 2d; Hamilton, June 3d; Virginia City, June 5th; Deer Lodge, June 9th; Missoula, June 12th; and Helena, June 15th,—seven churches in sixteen days.

As an illustration of the diverse elements in these newly gathered churches, the same writer says, "In its early years, the church of Helena had communicants from both branches of the Presbyterian Church (North and South); from the United Presbyterian church; the Established and Free churches of Scotland; the Presbyterian churches of England, Ireland, and Canada, besides Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, Episcopalians, Lutherans (German and Scandinavian), Mormons, Dunkards, and Quakers."

The first of this group of churches to secure a church building was Deer Lodge, under the leadership of Rev. James Russel, in 1874. The first service in this building was held February 21, 1875.

The missionary tour which resulted in the organization of the above mentioned churches, with its detours and zigzags, included a round of about 5,000 miles. While varied by many agreeable and interesting incidents and experiences, it was nevertheless a severe test of grit and endurance, as well as of courage and fidelity. There were nine passengers inside the coach which started northward from Corinne and several on the outside. As one has put it,—the miseries, torture, and living death of a night ride in a crowded stage must be experienced to be known. In this case, however, there were four successive nights and five days of tossing and jolting, for the coach was thirty-six hours behind time. The route led up the Malad valley through camps of Shoshone Indians and Mormon settlements up to the snow line and beyond the Divide into the territory of Idaho. Before nightfall, the coach passed through an encampment of one hundred lodges of Snake Indians. At the rude halting-place for supper, a hoarse cry of "murder," followed by the thud of heavy blows, was heard. When the passengers rushed to the door of the room adjoining to ascertain the cause

of this outcry, they were confronted with drawn revolvers to prevent interference in the bloody strife.

At its close, the vanquished comrade was borne away, with broken ribs and a bruised and sadly disfigured head and face. At this point, the stage was abandoned, for some reason not given, and all the baggage, mail, and express packages, were piled into a lumber wagon, upon the top of which the passengers seated themselves as best they could.

In this decidedly uncomfortable fashion they rode until midnight, in a cold drizzling rain, when their progress was interrupted by a rushing stream from which the bridge had been swept away a little while before. As soon as possible, a log raft was constructed which floated three or four trunks and as many passengers at a trip. As soon as all were over, the journey was resumed. On the third day, the summit of the main range was reached by a pass of easy grade which led from Idaho into Montana. Here a network of little brooks was crossed which joined at lower levels to form the most remote sources of the Missouri River.

At a station of the company, where two stage lines came together, the weary passengers camped out for a few hours of the night under blankets in the freight wagons. The night was uncomfortably cold, and when the superintendent of the line came along with an extra coach at 11 P. M., there was great joy among the campers. Thence to Bannock, the journey was made with comparative comfort and accelerated speed. On the fifth day, Helena, the destination of the little party, was reached. Three days later, Dr. Jackson took the coach for Gallatin, starting at 3 o'clock, A. M., and arriving at 5 P. M.

This early morning hour seems to have been the usual time for the start on most of the all-day journeys which were made on these missionary tours. This trip included

hundreds of miles of travel, all of which were made by stage-coach, except a stretch of eighteen miles on foot and a carriage ride of half a day.

On the evening of his return to Helena, Saturday, June 15th, Dr. Jackson attended a business meeting of the Presbyterians in the court-house. At this meeting, the church was reorganized and two elders were elected. The next day these representatives of the congregation were ordained and installed. On Monday evening, Dr. Jackson preached the opening sermon of the newly erected Presbytery of Montana and was elected its first moderator. This was literally a "carpet-bag" presbytery. It came into the territory with this missionary bishop whose presence was necessary to make up a quorum, and its prospective membership shared many of his hardships by the way up to this point.

Leaving each of his associates in charge of two or more churches or outstations he again took the coach, which had been his headquarters for so many weeks, for a dusty and disagreeable ride to Fort Benton, 140 miles distant, at the head of steamboat navigation on the Missouri River.

In a circular letter to the children of the Sabbath-schools, Dr. Jackson mentions the fact that at one point on this missionary tour through Montana he met a Christian mother with whom he had a brief conversation while the stage stopped to change horses.

When she learned that he expected to preach and administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the next day, at a place forty miles distant, she expressed her deep regret that she had not heard of this sooner that she might have arranged to go and take her children with her to attend the meeting, that they might have the privilege of witnessing for the first time in their lives, a sacramental service. It was in these isolated regions that many an

exile from spiritual privileges in the New West remembered Zion and longed for the coming of the herald of the Gospel and the establishment of the Church in which they might worship God after the manner of their fathers.

At each point which he visited on this tour, Dr. Jackson's work was commented upon by the public press with favour : and in several instances highly appreciative notices of his sermons and his efforts to establish churches in Montana were published.

One or two extracts may suffice to show the spirit of these notices :—

The Rev. Sheldon Jackson, superintendent of missions for the Rocky Mountains, preached in the court-house last Sunday evening. The house was filled with attentive listeners, who were well pleased with the sermon. Indeed, we have seldom seen an audience evince a greater interest in a religious service. The reverend gentleman will be certain to meet a hearty welcome whenever he may find it convenient to visit us.—*Deer Lodge Independent*.

"Sheldon Jackson," writes the correspondent of a Virginia city paper, "is a fluent, pleasing and earnest speaker, and we think just the right sort of a man to successfully establish and maintain the churches of his denomination in our mountain country." "In the Rev. Sheldon Jackson," writes still another correspondent, "the Presbyterians have a man who worthily magnifies his office. One would think this field big enough for a half dozen of bishops, and quite too big for one man to keep pace with its growth. But if the record of the past twenty days is a fair specimen of his powers, he will provide all these states and territories with churches as fast as they are needed. He also edits the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*. At that rate, the Methodists will have to look out for their prestige."

The return journey by steamboat from Fort Benton, at the head of navigation on the Missouri River, to Sioux City, Iowa, is described in Dr. Jackson's notes as "a wild romantic ride of ten days, during which the boat was

twice on fire." At one point the steamer was delayed for some time by a large herd of buffalo which were swimming across the river. The distance between the above-mentioned points by the river's course is two thousand miles, one-half of which was through a wilderness region, abounding in game of all sorts, where thousands of Indians roamed at will and claimed the privilege of doing as they listed throughout its vast extent. The only signs of civilization along this part of the route were occasional clearings, at long intervals, occupied by United States forts, or stockade trading-posts. Many of the passengers on the boat, as it followed its course down the stream, were on the alert for game, within sight and range, and the crack of rifles was heard almost continuously at some points of the journey during the daytime. On the trip made by this boat up the river, "eleven buffaloes, a bear, and a score of mountain-sheep, deer, and lesser game, were taken." At frequent intervals large bands of Indians, whose camps were near by, flocked to the river's bank to see the boat pass. On one occasion "they showed their friendly feeling by firing into the boat." "Perhaps," as the narrator naively adds, "this was done for the fun of seeing the passengers scatter and dodge." At Fort Benton, there were at this time about one hundred inhabitants, besides Indians, half-breeds, and a company of United States soldiers.

The fort was built in 1846, but, so far as known, from that date until 1872 no Protestant minister had ever preached at the place. For some months before Dr. Jackson came, two earnest Christian women had kept up a Sabbath service and had prevailed upon their husbands to take turns at reading a printed sermon. He would gladly have availed himself of the privilege of preaching the Gospel to this little company, but the boat was awaiting the arrival of the stage-coach by which he came. He

did have the opportunity, however, to preach to the motley assembly which gathered on the deck of the steamboat the next day. A continuous journey of two days by rail, after landing at Sioux City, brought this long journey to an end. "It was a journey," as he expresses it, "of great hardships and many dangers; of long weeks with their days of toil and nights of suffering; and yet the hardships were more than compensated by the spiritual joy of founding gospel institutions which shall assist in moulding the rising public sentiment of that beautiful territory, so soon to be the home of tens and hundreds of thousands."

One of the institutions included in the foregoing statement was the Gallatin Female Seminary, founded by the Rev. Lyman B. Crittenden, soon after his arrival in the territory. His daughter, Miss Mary G. Crittenden, rendered efficient service as the principal of this seminary. In the early days of its existence, when the hindrances connected with its continuance seemed to be almost insurmountable, Sheldon Jackson came to the rescue and from personal friends and well-wishers secured money and equipments for its support and enlargement.

This pioneer school was one of the "seed-sowing institutions" of the land, and is now under the care of the synod, which holds the ground once occupied by this feeble presbytery.

The third and last official visit made by the superintendent to Montana was in the summer of 1878. His experiences on this trip were similar to those on the former journeys. At this date the territory was still isolated from the outside world, and the only way to enter it,—except by the long river route—or to journey through it, was by the lumbering coach of the former days.

With respect to the character of work in this field and his intense zeal for its accomplishment, Dr. D. J.

McMillan, ex-secretary of the Home Board, and the successor of Dr. Jackson in the Montana field, says :—

Some of his alleged mistakes have proved to be great successes. He was severely criticised for organizing a church at Bozeman with six members : and another at Missoula with two. But he knew, as few if any others knew, what he was doing. They were indeed feeble outposts, but they were claim-stakes, like the cross erected by Columbus on San Salvador, a proclamation to the world that the land was claimed for Christ. Those feeble beginnings in Montana are now strong and influential churches.

His endurance in the days of his prime was phenomenal. I have known him to preach three times in one day, riding twenty-five miles on horseback between appointments, and rise next morning fresh and ready for anything. One evening he preached in Missoula and at the close of service he took the stage for a hundred miles, over a mountain road—a steady twenty-four hours' run—to Deer Lodge, where he arrived barely in time for a service, which he had announced for that evening. He persuaded the driver to take him directly to the church, and, leaping from the top of the coach to the church steps, entered it and went through the service without a moment for rest or refreshment of any kind. The statement made by some one, as illustrating his habits of industry, that he edited the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* from the hurricane decks of stage-coaches, was hardly an exaggeration.

I have seen Dr. Jackson sway vast assemblies, and I have seen him where two or three were gathered together in humble cabins or dugouts. I have seen him in some of the high places of the earth, and I have seen him sleeping on the ground among the sage brush, and in stables among the cattle ; and everywhere and always he is the same imperturbable, irrepressible, unpretentious Sheldon Jackson.

In immediate results, and in some other respects, the work in Montana was more disappointing and discouraging than in other portions of the Colorado Synod. As the advance agent of the Presbyterian Church, Sheldon Jackson received a cordial welcome in every part of the territory ; but he found it impossible, owing to circumstances

beyond his control, to make good the plans he had matured or to meet the engagements he had made for the supply of some of the most needy portions of the field. After his first visit to Helena, which was made on his own volition and without expense to any agency of the church, he went East to secure ministers for some of the most important points, including the "lone church," which he had organized at Helena, a thousand miles from any other of the same name on either side of it.

In his quest for ministers after his second trip, he was successful beyond his expectations, but the volunteers who responded to his call were not sent. With the passing of this opportunity, the blue banner which had been raised so confidently was allowed to droop, and at length was lowered and laid aside for lack of supporters. Not until three years had passed away, was it again unfurled, to wave continuously and triumphantly over this beautiful mountain land, until Christ shall come again. Meanwhile this dauntless missionary continued to labour in the interests of that apparently forgotten land. In 1870, he wrote to a friend in this territory: "I want to wake up the Board to the importance of Montana. If I could have my own way I should have had several Presbyterian ministers in the field months ago. I shall make a new attempt in the spring, and I hope to get there myself. But I have been disappointed so often that I make no promises."

In the summer of 1872, the prospects were bright for the speedy completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Knowing what this meant to the territory of Montana, Sheldon Jackson was eager to preempt every strategic point which was not yet occupied by the other leading denominations. Hence, as already noted, seven churches were organized during this visit. In order to provide for regular, or at least occasional, services for these

churches, it was necessary to give to each one of the missionaries then on the ground, the care of one or more places outside his special field, until a larger force of labourers could be secured. Hence, the superintendent grouped the outlying stations with the nearest occupied point within reach—a very long reach in most cases—and these points were named in the commission of each of the ministers in charge.

After a brief period of trial, one or two of the missionaries gave up the attempt to reach the outlying places in their district, mainly because of the heavy expense it entailed upon them. While recognizing the necessity for doing this work, they were emphatic in their contention that the cost of travel in reaching these points should be met by the Board, inasmuch as their salaries, insufficient for present needs, would not justify them in making this sacrifice. On the other hand, the superintendent ascribes the failure to meet these obligations to inexperience in frontier work. He writes :—

It was true the extreme points were one hundred miles apart, but there were at that very time a dozen missionaries in Minnesota, Colorado, and probably other sections whose fields were equally large and called for as much sacrifice to supply them. It is also true that the fare on a stage-coach for 100 miles was beyond the ability of the missionaries to pay regularly from their salaries. But, on the other hand, they did not need to use the stages. Along that line of frontier, ranches were frequent, and saddle horses were cheap. The missionary could have two or three regular preaching stations between his extreme points and thus reduce a day's travel on horseback to twenty-five or thirty-three miles. And at the close of the day's ride he could preach in the log cabin of his host to the ranchmen of that region. On these routes the people would take care of him and his horse without charge. Not only that but something would be added to his salary by the free-will offerings of his hearers ; but, better still, the Gospel would be preached at four or five places instead of two.

This plan was in successful operation, at that very time, both in Minnesota and Colorado.

When the aid asked from the Board for these journeys was refused, because of a depleted treasury, some of the organizations were left without preaching services or pastoral care. For this cause, apparently, three churches which were enrolled by the presbytery at its organization lost their hold upon the community and were either disbanded at a later period, or reorganized.

Says the Rev. George Edwards, the historian of the Synod of Montana,—“The minutes of the General Assembly show that for several years Presbyterianism was of very slow growth. The difficulty seems to have been to man the churches that were organized, and this naturally caused dissatisfaction and criticism on the part of both churches and presbytery.” From the criticism to which reference is here made, Dr. Jackson, who was acting under the instructions of the Board, was not exempt. In one or two instances also dissatisfaction, because of supposed partiality in the distribution of work and the assignment of places, developed into open antagonism and this, with other matters to which exceptions were taken, issued, at length, in a request to the Home Board that Dr. Jackson's oversight of the mission work of Montana should be discontinued and that the presbytery should have the privilege of planting and fostering, with the continued support of the Board, its own churches and mission stations. This was the act of a body which numbered not many more than the minimum of members required for a quorum, but it was an official act of a regularly constituted body and as such received careful and respectful consideration. A copy of this action and the reasons, or specifications given for it, were sent by the secretaries to Dr. Jackson, with the request that he

make reply on his own behalf, a privilege, it seems, which was not accorded to him by the presbytery which initiated this action.

A detailed statement, correcting some misapprehensions and covering the entire ground of complaint was sent back to the Board and apparently this ended the matter ; for Dr. Jackson's commission was afterwards renewed in the same terms as before and included the whole synod until the mission field was divided in 1881.

With characteristic frankness and candour he has copied and preserved in permanent book form all the statements and specifications relating to this complaint as well as his reply to the same. These and other records bearing upon the early history of the work in Montana may be consulted in the library of the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, Pa.

Aside from all other considerations Dr. Jackson was deeply grieved to learn, in this indirect way, that some of the young brethren whom he had influenced to come to this field, and for whose success he had laboured, and daily prayed for, should so misjudge his motives and discredit his work. To one of these brethren, who at an earlier date had expressed a desire to coöperate with him and ignore any differences between them for the work's sake, he wrote :—

“Dear Brother,—Your letter of the 23d was received this morning, and I thank God for it. I have often prayed that God would bring our hearts together again, because it seemed necessary for the prosperity of His work. Montana has always been a favourite field of mine, as those who have heard my public addresses will testify, and those who have been much with me will witness. It was pleading for Montana that awakened a new missionary spirit in Auburn Seminary, when four of the young men offered themselves to the Board. It has been a con-

stant source of regret that circumstances which I could not control have prevented, in the past, the advancing of our cause to the extent I could have wished, but I trust that now a brighter day is dawning, and that you may receive the needed reinforcements."

Elsewhere he gives this explanation of the fact, which he frankly admits, that his visits to Montana were "hasty and infrequent,"—"Because the Board would not divide my field I was trying to cover the whole country from Mexico to Canada. But while I tried to improve every moment, I did spend from one day to a week in every Presbyterian church in the territory, except Missoula, at each visit to the place. I also kept informed of the progress of all sections of the territory, but the Board had refused to enlarge the work, and I had not the heart to visit sections which were deprived of gospel privileges and say to the exiled Presbyterians, 'Your church is too poor to help to give you the Gospel.' " The want of greater success during the seventies, he attributes to three causes, *viz.* :—

(1) The remoteness of the country to the railroads, and hence the slow increase of population (not as many in 1878 as in 1872).

(2) The general discouragement attendant upon the failure of Jay Cook and the suspension of the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad, in consequence of which many of the best and most enterprising of the population left the country.

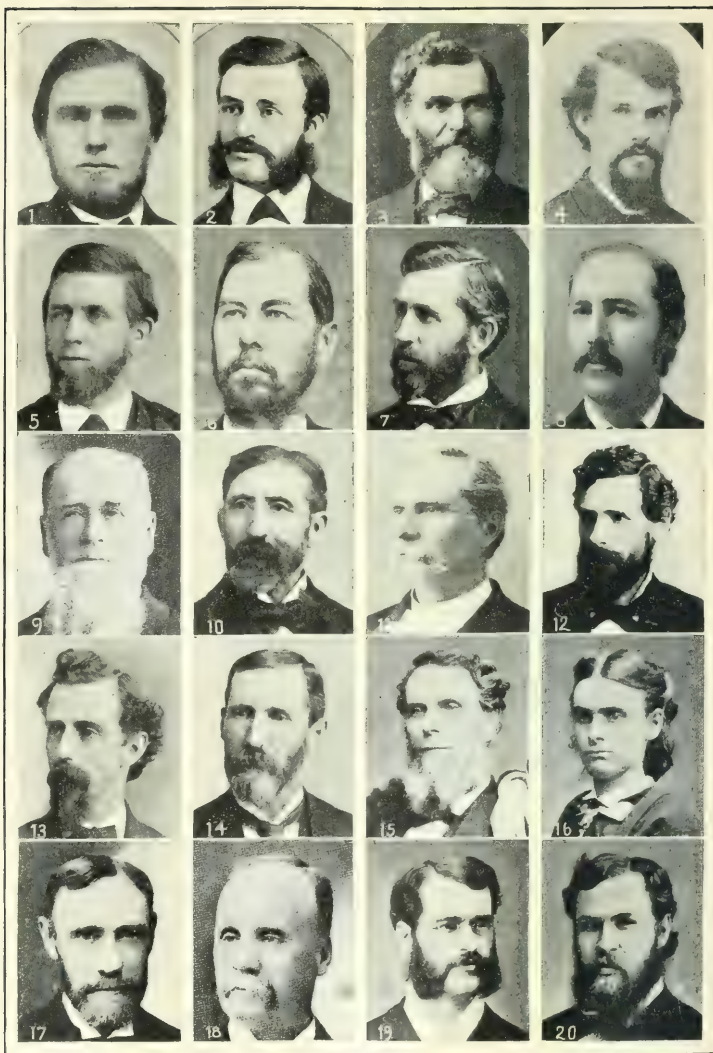
(3) The failure to supply some of the churches which were organized with the ministrations of the Gospel.

The brighter day, to which reference was made in the letter, above quoted, began to dawn in the last year of Sheldon Jackson's term of service in Montana.

In 1880, two railroads,—the Northern Pacific from the East, and the Utah and Northern from the South—reached

the territory. During the next year fully one-fifth of the population of the preceding year was added to its working force and as its resources were developed in line with the activities and industries of the outside world, the secret of its boundless riches began to be known abroad, and its growth was rapid and continuous. In less than a decade after the beginning of this era of prosperity, Montana was admitted to the Union, with a population of about 130,000, and an area in square miles which is exceeded by *three states only* within the bounds of our national domain.

With the realization of this dream of material prosperity, came the opportunity and the reward of the men who had waited in hope, and laboured amid many discouragements to give to this fair land the priceless privileges of the Gospel of Christ. While the growth of the Presbyterian Church in Montana has not been so rapid as in the state of Colorado, it has reached out into all the important points of the state: and the ground once held by the little presbytery, which needed the presence of its synodical missionary to make a quorum, is now covered by a strong, aggressive, and influential synod.



PIONEER MISSIONARIES IN ARIZONA, UTAH AND MONTANA.

(For names see Appendix, page 481. Group 4.)

X

PIONEER WORK IN THE TERRITORY OF UTAH

"The leaders of men are the ones with eyes for the new and exceptional opportunities."—*W. T. Ellis.*

"Whatever makes men good Christians, makes them good citizens."
—*Daniel Webster.*

WHEN Brigham Young and his deluded followers fled from the wrath of an exasperated and outraged community in the Mississippi Valley, they wandered wildly across the plains and over the mountains in search of a new home. With a zeal, courage and persistency which were worthy of a better cause, they toiled for weeks and months over sandy plains and rugged mountains until at length a place of refuge was found beyond the last range of the Rocky Mountains in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. This beautiful basin, which Fremont had discovered and described a short time before, and for the occupancy of which Brigham Young had a revelation at an opportune moment, was, in some respects, the counterpart of the basin of the Salt Sea in the Jordan Valley.

Appropriating all that was workable in connection with this resemblance, the crafty leader of this motley host laid out a city, which he named Zion, and, in keeping with this pretension, called all who acknowledged it as the central place of their worship and devotion, "The Latter Day Saints." At the date of this settlement,—the summer of 1846—the whole extent of the unoccupied country to which Brigham Young laid claim, belonged to

the Republic of Mexico. At the close of the war with Mexico it was ceded to the United States. Soon after, it was surveyed by order of the Federal government, and out of it was organized the territory of Utah. In this isolated region, apart from the haunts of civilized men, and some two thousand miles west of New York City, Brigham Young developed one of the most cunningly devised systems of religious despotism which has ever been invented by the mind of man. It included the teaching and practice of polygamy, blood atonement, and sensualism in general in its most revolting forms, under the guise of pretended revelations. "No Pope in Rome," says Wm. Hepworth Dixon, "no Czar in Moscow, no Caliph in Bagdad, ever exercised such power as the Mormons conferred on Brigham Young. They call themselves Saints, accept the Bible as true, baptize their converts in the name of Christ ; but they are *not* a Christian people, and no church in the world could hold communion with them in their present state. In truth, they approach much nearer, in creed, in morals, and in government, to the Utes and Shoshones than to any Anglo-Saxon church. Young gets a meaning from the Bible which no one else ever found there—a new history of the creation, of the fall, of the atonement, of the future life. A Mahomedan mosque stands nearer to the Christian than the Mormon temple stands. Islam broke down idols, Mormonism sets them up. Smith and Young have peopled their strange heaven with gods of their own making : and the Almighty is in their eyes but a President of heaven, a Chief among spiritual peers, occupying a throne like that of a Roman Jove."

The territory of Utah was created during the administration of President Fillmore, and to the amazement and sorrow of those who knew something of the coarseness, the unconcealed disloyalty, and despotic rule of Brigham

Young, he was made its first governor. From this time until he was deposed for unbearable insolence and defiance of the authority of the general government, during the administration of President Buchanan, he rivalled the sultans of the East in his assumption of arbitrary power, and in the number of his wives and concubines. When he had occasion to travel among his subjects, he journeyed "like an Oriental prince, with two personal servants, a barber, and one of his wives, and was followed by a procession of carriages and men on horseback." In the earlier days of this despotic rule, he openly advocated the exile or death of those who apostatized from the Mormon faith, or who opposed his pernicious teachings and practices. The Danites and blood-avengers were the executors of his jealous hatred, and his authority to banish or to "cut off" at will was not called in question. The culmination of a series of mysterious murders and assassinations, estimated as not less than five hundred, was the massacre at Mountain Meadows, where, in 1857, one hundred and twenty-one persons—men, women and children—belonging to an emigrant train which was peaceably passing through the territory were brutally put to death. This infamous crime, which for several years was attributed to the hostility of the Indians, was at length traced to its true source, and the leader of the party, Bishop John D. Lee, who carried out the behest of the Mormon rulers with fanatical zeal and unquestioning obedience, was made the scapegoat of this awful tragedy, and paid the penalty of outraged justice with his life.¹

¹The spoils of these murdered ones, including horses, a carriage, wagons, clothing, etc., were brought to Salt Lake a few days after the massacre and sold. Ten per cent. of the proceeds went into the treasury of the church, and Brigham Young, at that time the governor of the territory, bought the carriage for his own use. In his confession, a short time before his execution, John D. Lee asserts that he and fifty-

The arbitrary power which was vested in the Mormon rulers was turned to good advantage in so far as the material development of the country was concerned ; and wonderful things were accomplished in this way which could not have been done nearly so promptly or efficiently in a community where individual liberty was recognized and guaranteed. While Brigham Young was unscrupulous in his ambitions and fanatical in his beliefs, he was eminently practical in the administration of the business affairs of the community, over which he exercised the same arbitrary authority as in the affairs relating to the church. With consummate tact and ability he directed the industrial development of the territory, exacting tithes of all the increase, and making every agency and industry contributory to the advancement of the politico-ecclesiastical oligarchy of which he claimed to be the divinely appointed head. Under his direction, towns were located, roads were built, irrigating ditches were constructed, and every available mountain stream was utilized to beautify and fertilize the land. It was his aim to create a paradise in the lowland sections of this mountain region, which should attract the downtrodden and oppressed of all nations ; and from the beginning of this project he sent out emissaries among all the countries of Europe to preach the excellencies of the Mormon faith, and to invite all who came under their influences to come out from the bondage of old faiths and old restrictions into the larger liberty and greater privileges of this new " Land of Promise " in the Far West. As the result of these labours and appeals, multitudes came, and as fast as they arrived places were found for them and the work for which they seemed

one of his Mormon associates spent a portion of the preceding night in a prayer-meeting asking the guidance of God with respect to the premeditated massacre of the morrow.—" Lee's Confessions," pp. 233-234, 1882.

to be fitted was put into their hands. Bound by the double chain of poverty and dependence, there were few if any of these newcomers who had the opportunity, if they had the desire, to escape from their environments and conditions. At first, the new settlements were confined to the Salt Lake valley, but, as the population increased, they were extended down the centre of the territory, along the line of cleavage between the mountains, to Rio Virgen, in Arizona. Northward, they were extended as far as Oneida, in Idaho Territory. Thus, this attenuated commonwealth, rarely more than ten miles in width, had a reach of about seven hundred miles from north to south.

For almost twenty years after its founding, the isolated inhabitants of this Mormon commonwealth were left, practically, to their own devices. During the progress of the Civil War a few non-Mormons, contemptuously called Gentiles, settled in Salt Lake City, or prospected among the mountains in its vicinity for silver and gold. From the first they were regarded as intruders and were debarred from many privileges and opportunities which were accorded to American citizens in other portions of the land. There were several, also, during this period and for two or three years following, who were treacherously assassinated, because in some way they had given offense to Brigham Young or his associates. The completion of the Transcontinental Railway was the beginning of a new era of liberty and enlightenment for the territory of Utah. It opened the way for the incoming of hardy settlers from the Eastern states, who claimed their right to go and come, buy and sell, as it seemed good to them, without reference or deference to the despotic power which hitherto had ruled this portion of the country. This was not accorded to them, however, without a conflict, which has been continued to this day. The church and its agencies have through all these years

controlled the legislation of city, town, and state, and a free ballot amid such influences is virtually an impossibility. In 1869, there were about one thousand non-Mormons in Utah, one-half of which were prospecting for silver among the mountains. A year later, the mining population, mostly of this class, numbered four thousand. In 1877, the non-Mormon element was estimated at fifteen thousand, and it has been steadily increasing in numbers and influence until the present time.

The first evangelical missionary to the territory was the Rev. Norman McLeod, who was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society of the Congregational Church. He reached Salt Lake City in January, 1865, and, despite the threats made against his life, inaugurated a religious service in a building known as Daft's Hall. Here he preached the Gospel, organized a Sabbath-school, and within less than a year secured the erection of an adobe house of worship. This successful beginning aroused the smouldering wrath of the Mormon hierarchy, and a determined effort was made to arrest it before it should take the form of a permanent organization. In the autumn of 1866, while Mr. McLeod was absent in the East, in the interests of his mission, his Sunday-school superintendent and most efficient helper, Dr. King Robinson, a surgeon of the army, was called from his house to visit a patient, and was treacherously assassinated in the street by men who were lying in wait for his appearing. The withdrawal of the military force from Fort Douglas, at this time, to Denver, deprived the non-Mormon element of the protection they had hitherto enjoyed, and for this reason mainly the missionary society suspended the work. It was resumed six years later, under more favourable conditions and with gratifying success.

In 1867, Bishop Tuttle of the Episcopal Church, visited the territory with a view to the establishment of churches

and schools, but little progress was made until after the completion of the Pacific Railroad.

The first Presbyterian minister who had the privilege of preaching the Gospel to a Mormon audience was the Rev. Dr. Henry Kendall, whose honoured name will always be associated with the pioneer work of the Home Board of the United Church. While on his way to the Pacific coast, in 1864, in the interests of the home mission work of the New School branch of the Presbyterian Church, he spent several days in Salt Lake City, noting the conditions and holding conferences with some of the non-Mormon residents and United States officials. During this visit, he was introduced to Brigham Young, who, to his great surprise, invited him to preach in the Tabernacle.

"At this time," says Dr. Samuel E. Wishard, the present synodical missionary for Utah, "the Mormon prophets were predicting and praying for the downfall of our government. Hence Brigham's invitation to Dr. Kendall had in it the taunt of the old mockers who said to God's captive people,

" 'Sing us one of the songs of Zion.'

Dr. Kendall's courage was equal to the occasion. He struck the gospel note that went echoing through these mountains until it was taken up in full chorus by our Board of Home Missions. It is the popular belief that the politeness of Brigham, in his mild treatment of Dr. Kendall, was somewhat due to certain military aspects up at Fort Douglas. However that may be, says Dr. Wishard, Dr. Kendall made some discoveries and his gospel message had been heard by the tabernacle congregation. He had taken in the situation, and that was something gained."

To Sheldon Jackson must be accorded the honour of

making the first attempt, in so far as the Presbyterian Church is concerned, of giving the regular ministrations of the Gospel to the territory of Utah. In advance of the regularly constituted agencies of the church, he sent the Rev. Melancthon Hughes on his own responsibility, as already noted in the chapter on the Iowa Movement, to Corinne, at the head of the Great Salt Lake, twenty-five miles northwest of Ogden, with a view to its occupancy as a strategic point from which to begin the Christian conquest of this goodly, but strangely deluded, section of our national domain. At Corinne, the population was mainly of American birth, and its business interests were developed by men who had no sympathy with Brigham Young or the apostate church which he represented. Hence there were several persons in this community who welcomed Mr. Hughes and assisted him in securing a place in which to hold regular services. The first service in this place was held on the 13th of June, 1869. Dr. Jackson visited Corinne on the 23d of July, when *en route* to Helena, Montana. On his return journey from Helena, he looked over the ground more carefully, preached on the Sabbath, and made arrangements for a temporary board of managers to represent the congregation in an effort to secure a lot for a house of worship ; and, if the way should be clear, eventually, to apply for a church organization. The field for which Mr. Hughes was commissioned covered a stretch of 292 miles on the line of the Pacific Railroads, and hence it was impossible for him to make frequent visits or to accept an invitation as a permanent supply. The best that could be done, therefore, at the time, was to hold the ground until a minister could be secured for this portion of the field. In the spring of 1870, the Rev. Edward E. Bayliss was sent to Corinne. He took up the work assigned to him on the 10th of April, giving his full time to

this point until October 9, 1871. He assisted Dr. Jackson in the organization of a church with nine members on the 14th of July, 1870. A week or two later, lots were secured for the erection of a house of worship. This building was completed and dedicated November 20th of the same year. The Rev. John Brown, of Elko, Nevada, the nearest Presbyterian minister, came 260 miles to assist Mr. Bayliss and the superintendent in the dedication service. The citizens of Corinne contributed \$1,543 towards the erection of this house of worship, and the Board of Church Erection gave \$2,000 additional. Thus was the first Presbyterian church organized and housed in Utah. Referring to this memorable event, Dr. Wishard says,—

“The indignation of the Prophet Brigham was aroused against the whole community. The erection of a large church building and the music of a church-bell still further disturbed the Prophet.” To this he adds, on the authority of a gentleman who spent several years in Corinne or its neighbourhood :—

The Gentile town of Corinne was an eye-sore to Brigham Young, and he assiduously plotted to destroy it. He had his son John, then President of the Utah Northern Railroad, build the narrow gauge road from Logan to Franklin, Idaho, in order to intercept the travel northward at that point. He then formally cursed the town, its business and people, from the rear platform of his private car, and had the depot, track, and bridge across the Bear River removed to Franklin, Idaho. This not succeeding, the curse not being executed by Providence, he had the Utah Northern sold to the Union Pacific, and the junction of that with the Central Pacific removed to Ogden, and thus Corinne was left a mere way-station on the Central Pacific. Still the people clung to their homes, though doing business at Franklin and Ogden.

This petty persecution, which in time did effect the growth and prosperity of the church at Corinne, was in-

dicative of a smouldering hatred and intolerance as deadly and fanatical as that which culminated in the Mountain Meadow Massacre, but, happily, it was now restrained by a strong arm of power which compelled a show of obedience, at least, to the laws of the land.

At a critical time in the history of the church at Corinne, Dr. Jackson undertook to supply its pulpit from his home in Denver, as frequently as was possible, for a period of three months. The records in his note-book show that he made four round trips of 1,300 miles each, from February 3d to April 23d, in the fulfillment of this voluntary obligation. The idea of supplying a church at this distance, in the most inclement season of the year, would hardly have occurred to any one else, and certainly its apparent impracticability would have staggered any one who did not have free transportation.

At the suggestion of the secretaries of the Home Board, the superintendent visited Salt Lake City, July 1, 1871, to make a careful investigation of the situation, with the view to the establishment of a Presbyterian church. As a result of this investigation, it was decided to undertake the support of a missionary in this citadel of Mormon power and influence at once. In order to save time and secure a valuable man, the Rev. Josiah Welch, under appointment for Montana Territory, was transferred to this field and commenced his work October 1, 1871, by preaching to a congregation of twelve persons. Says Dr. Wishard :—

It is of divine wisdom, that when a work is to be done, God always has a man prepared for it. The clock struck the hour, and the Rev. Josiah Welch, a recent graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, answered to the call of Providence. He had been commissioned by the Board of Home Missions to take work in Montana, but the synodical missionary stepped across his path, and confronted him with

the claims of the people of Utah, emphasizing his plea with a revelation (non-Mormon) to the young preacher of the deep spiritual darkness that had settled down upon Salt Lake City, like the pall of an unbroken night. Mr. Welch had the wisdom to see the opportunity, and to interpret it as the voice of God. He obeyed that voice, though it remained for those of us coming after him to realize the heroism of his decision and its value to the cause of Christ. Embarrassments met him at the very beginning of his work. Brigham Young had closed against Christian work every hall and every place of public concourse. Mr. Welch finally rented the hay-loft of a livery stable, at an expense of fifty dollars per month. A church of eleven members was organized, (tradition says in the skating rink) on the Sabbath, November 12, 1871. This was accomplished by Mr. Welch, Sheldon Jackson, and Dr. Geo. S. Boardman, who was providentially present.

For about three years services were held in the skating rink and other halls, as opportunity offered, and the little flock steadily grew in numbers and influence. As soon as Mr. Welch had entered upon his work, Sheldon Jackson sent out, through the religious press, an earnest appeal for assistance in the building of a suitable house of worship. In this appeal, he asked for a Christmas gift of \$5 each from 5,000 Presbyterian women. The response in this instance came far short of his expectation,—for the importance of evangelizing this crude mass of deluded immigrants was not realized at that time,—and afterwards Mr. Welch was obliged to leave his important work in Utah, for several months, in the care of others, while he pleaded with friends and well-wishers in the East for the necessary aid to make it efficient.

He succeeded at length in securing a sufficient amount to warrant the building of a comfortable house of worship, which was erected upon a large and well located lot containing a house suitable for a manse. The building was dedicated on the 11th of October, 1874. From this date on, the church has had a continuous growth, and

more and more as the years have passed it has become a power for righteousness throughout the territories dominated by Mormon influence, as well as in this rapidly growing city. It has established two mission stations in other parts of the city, which have now become vigorous churches, and its present membership is 520, with a Sabbath-school enrollment of more than 800. This influential church, throughout its eventful history, has had but three pastors. To Josiah Welch was given the difficult and dangerous task of gathering, organizing, and developing it in troublous times, and in its interests he toiled laboriously and unselfishly until failing health made it necessary to give the work into other hands. With the same spirit of devotion, his successor, the Rev. Robert G. McNeice, took up the work, and, with unflinching courage, withstood the evil influences which were arrayed against him, upholding the standard of Christian purity in the interests of the nation, as well as of the Church which he represented. After nearly twenty years of continuous toil, Dr. McNeice was released from this charge to enable him to devote his time and energies to the establishment and development of Westminster College, a direct outgrowth of the good work which Dr. Jackson began in the summer of 1869. A worthy successor to Dr. McNeice was found in Dr. William M. Paden, who left the Holland Memorial Church of Philadelphia to cast in his lot with the noble band of labourers in Utah, who, with singleness of aim, were striving to redeem this fair heritage of the nation from the corrupting influences of ignorance, superstition, and sensualism. Under his wise and able leadership, a new house of worship which ranks among the best in this section of the land, has been built and dedicated, and the influence of the church itself has been felt in the councils of the nation as well as in the assemblies of the Church for which it stands.

In the spring of 1875, the session of the Church organized the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, and elected Prof. J. M. Coyner, of Indiana, as principal. This school, which was opened up in connection with the Presbyterian church in Utah, was held for some time in the basement of the house of worship. Says Dr. Wishard :—

The story of this institution, that enrolled the first year sixty-three pupils, and within the next two years one hundred and sixty-five, would furnish data for a history of its own. Christian education in the Collegiate Institute has advanced step by step from the day of small things until two commodious buildings are demanded, and have been furnished to meet the necessities of the educational wants of the people.

In this phase of the work, Dr. Jackson was deeply interested, and in his public addresses, as well as in the columns of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, he aroused the Church to the necessity of opening and sustaining Christian schools at every available point where missions were, or should be, established. Out of this necessity grew the educational work of the Woman's Home Board, which to-day is one of the most successful agencies of the Church in connection with the evangelization of the land. Of this agency and the part which Sheldon Jackson had in its beginning and development, more will be said in another place.

When Mr. Welch made his first trip to the East, about the 1st of January, 1873, for the purpose of soliciting funds for the erection of a house of worship, Dr. Jackson undertook the supply of his pulpit during his absence, which covered a period of about two and a half months. With the exception of a few days required for a hurried trip to Denver and return, he spent the whole of this time in Utah, ministering to the little flock in Salt Lake, preaching at points within reach, exploring new

fields, and studying on the ground the needs and conditions of the territory as a whole.

One of the points to which his attention was directed at this time was Alta, a mining camp at the head of the Little Cottonwood Cañon. This was the seat of the famous "Emma Mine," and those who flocked to it from all parts of the country were mostly adventurers of the lowest class. It was known distinctively as a "Gentile" town, a designation which in this case was too literally true to be creditable to non-Mormon residents in other parts of the territory. The season was not far enough advanced to visit this place during the superintendent's stay in Salt Lake, but near the close of the month of May he returned to Utah, and spent a Sabbath at Alta. Moved by the spiritual destitution of the place, where no gospel message had hitherto been proclaimed, he described the necessities of the field and asked for a volunteer from the young men who were seeking a place in which to labour. The Rev. J. P. Schell, of Union Theological Seminary, promptly responded to this call, and amid many discouragements commenced his labours early in June. On the 20th of July, Dr. Jackson assisted him in the organization of a church.

This was the first Protestant organization in Alta, and much interest was manifested in its success by the better class of the community. In October of the same year, a frame building, well adapted to the wants of the congregation, was dedicated, and, soon after, a reading-room, for the benefit of all who wished to avail themselves of its privileges, was added.

Referring to the labours and triumphs of this young missionary, Dr. Jackson says:—"Well do we remember him at an early visit, his study over a grocery and whisky store, the ceiling and walls lined with cotton cloth, the feather bed handy in which to roll himself when the

stray bullets from a street brawl came unpleasantly close, and his feet and legs rolled up in pieces of carpeting to keep him warm as he sat in his room. The snow was five feet deep in June in the main street, and in making pastoral visits on the back streets, we passed from the level of the snow by a plank into the second-story window. In July we slept under four pairs of blankets." Here, despite these appalling difficulties, the Gospel was faithfully preached, the children were gathered into the Sabbath-school and taught the way of life, wanderers were reclaimed, and the people of God were strengthened and built up in their most holy faith. Like most of the mining camps, its day was brief, and at length the little church which had stood for all that was good and true amid abounding evil, died, like the town in which it was located, for lack of population.

While the way was thus opened up for the establishment of three Presbyterian churches in Mormon territory, they were all gathered originally from the non-Mormon element of each of these communities. Meanwhile, the providence of God was opening up the way for the evangelization of the benighted residents of Mormon communities, where, as yet, there was no nucleus of evangelical faith or following. The chosen instrument for the inauguration of this work was a young minister, Duncan J. McMillan, who at the close of his seminary course had accepted a call to a small church in Illinois.

While zealously labouring in this field, his work was suddenly arrested by the failure of his health. In the summer of 1874, he came to Colorado to test the efficacy of its life-giving atmosphere, and also to make inquiries concerning a field of labour in this territory, in case he should be compelled to give up his charge in Illinois. While on an outing of a fortnight with the Jackson family at Idaho Springs, the writer met Mr. McMillan

for the first time, and greatly enjoyed his genial companionship, roaming over the mountains and chatting by the camp-fire with him for several days. With his usual, never-failing hospitality, Dr. Jackson had invited this young health-seeker to join his family in camp, and soon found in him a man after his own heart. In giving some personal reminiscences with respect to this vacation experience and its outcome, Dr. McMillan says :—

I first met Dr. Jackson in 1874. Being in quest of health I was advised by him to try the climate of Utah, where I might find health and a field for missionary effort. At that time, we had three little churches in the territory ; one at the Gentile railroad town of Corinne, one at Salt Lake City, and one in the mining town of Alta. But Dr. Jackson had in mind a new departure. No one had attempted the Mormon towns, and no one but the indomitable Jackson would have conceived the idea of invading them. He had not visited them, but had heard that there was disaffection in the ranks of the “Saints,” and upon the rumour, which he believed to be well founded, he suggested that an attempt be made. Others scouted the idea. The secretaries of the Board of Home Missions did not favour it, nor did the Board make any appropriation for it. But Dr. Jackson promised to stand by the missionary. He kept his word, never wavering, but giving the movement his endorsement in the face of derision and censure. In time, he not only secured the support of the Board, but created a sentiment throughout the Church favourable to the work.

The point in Utah to which Mr. McMillan was sent, a few months after his visit to Colorado, was Mt. Pleasant, in San Pete County, a little more than a hundred miles south of Salt Lake City. The story of his trials and triumphs in this difficult field is one of the most thrilling in the annals of our home mission work. The favour with which he was received by apostate Mormons brought down upon him the hatred and vindictiveness of the priesthood and rulers, and every effort was made to dis-

credit his mission and crush out his attempts to organize a church and school. A few months after he had entered upon his work, Brigham Young and his twelve apostles visited Mt. Pleasant and held a two days' mass meeting of four services. Three of these were given to denunciations of Mr. McMillan and his work.

He was accused of the vilest crimes, and by one of the speakers the boast was openly made that the bullets were moulded for his benefit and would be used at the first favourable opportunity. At this time, forty pupils were withdrawn from the school and Brigham Young commanded the people to unite and drive the intruder from their midst. One night he was awakened by a noise at his window and on going to it saw a masked man clutching the window sill with one hand and holding a revolver in the other. Without a moment's hesitation he thrust his own revolver in the would-be assassin's face, who quickly fled. At another time he was invited to an oyster supper, where wine and other liquors were served. When he refused several invitations to join with some young men who were present in drinking, he was rudely seized by two or three of them who tried to force some whisky, presumably drugged for the occasion, down his throat. When he stoutly resisted, however, the attempt was given up. Again and again he was warned by friends among the liberal element of the place that his life was in danger. Bishops denounced him and forbade his preaching in their towns, but he kindly and yet firmly informed them that he would preach wherever the American flag floated. At one point he found that his notices for a preaching service had been intercepted, but, nothing daunted, he hastily put up notices on his arrival, about five o'clock P. M., in the post-office and some of the stores and at half-past seven he found the house crowded with people. On entering, a friend of the

liberal element of the place took him aside and advised him not to go on with the service, telling him that there were those present who had sworn to shoot him before the meeting should be dismissed. Thanking his friend for the information, he, however, declined to dismiss the meeting. When the time had arrived to begin the service, he invited the mayor and bishop, who were present, to the platform. When they declined, he took his place on the platform and laid his revolver upon the open Bible in full view of the audience. He then sang a hymn alone, read the Scriptures, poured out his soul in prayer, and afterwards "preached such a loving Gospel that enmity for the time being was disarmed."

At the close of five years of wonderfully successful labour in this valley, Mr. McMillan gave the following summary of his experiences and encouragements:—

When I reached this populous valley, March 3, 1875, I found myself one hundred and twenty miles from any Christian—not one professing Christian among the 17,000 who lived and moved and had their being in this valley. The entire non-Mormon element had come out from the Mormon church and were avowed enemies of all religion. There was little in common with them and myself, except antipathy to Mormonism. They were, however, anxious that some provision might be made for the education of their children. This was the single thread by which I might hope to draw them. This thread I seized with a firm grasp. They gave me \$535, and I pledged \$1,000, towards a building, at that time unfinished, and the title and the property at once vested in me. I published appeals for help, as none of our Boards at that time could help us to build or buy. Then I went East at my own expense, and personally applied for aid. But my appeals elicited such replies as these: From an elder in St. Joseph: "I've seen enough of these Mormon hordes; there's not a soul among them worth saving. I'll not give a dime towards your enterprise." A minister in Illinois said: "I believe firmly that the Mormons are all reprobate, and I would advise you to abandon your wild scheme, or you may perish with them." Said

another elder, who was a bank president: "Sir, no amount of credentials could commend to my favour the advocate of any such undertaking. Those who have endorsed you have belittled themselves." With these words Dives shut his door in my face and left me standing on his steps in the rain. But I thank God for giving me more faith in Himself than in men. With 150 children of Mormon parentage under our instruction at that time, and a congregation attending regularly the preaching of the Word, I knew that the effort could not die fruitless. The money came not apparently as the result of special appeals, but in answer to prayer. Spurned by many of the household of faith, despised and cursed by Mormon priests and apostles, I was impelled by the promises of God and drawn by the prospect of 17,000 souls without another voice to declare a Saviour's love to them. Oh! those days seem now to be but strange visions of the past. Out of those trying and perilous days, and through the then dark and portentous future, God has surely led us. Five hundred children and youth have passed under our instruction and influence, and now call us blessed. The circle of young people has been revolutionized in sentiment and spirit. A church whose roll contains forty-two names—thirty-five of whom remain—has grown up. Three other churches in as many neighbouring towns are part of the immediate results. An average of one convert, or sixty-eight in the five years and eight months, I have welcomed from the Mormon ranks to the communion of our beloved church. The establishment and maintenance of twenty schools in purely Mormon communities, in an unbroken line of 400 miles from north to south, with 1,500 children of Mormon parentage thus brought under gospel influences, and the distribution of hundreds of copies of the Word of God, where before it was unknown, are parts of the visible fruits.

When these hopeful words were written, Mr. McMillan had accepted the appointment of general superintendent of the mission field in Utah, from which Dr. Jackson had asked to be relieved, and was about to enter upon his duties in connection with the work. From this charge, in which he acquitted himself with the same fidelity and ability which he had shown in the work at Mt. Pleasant, he was called to serve the Church in a wider

field as a secretary of the Home Mission Board. With respect to the work of his predecessor in preparing the way for the successes of the later years, especially in Southern Utah, Dr. McMillan says :—

In 1876, Sheldon Jackson visited the valley of San Pete, and from personal observations, mainly, published the first complete statement of work among the Mormons, its encouragements and its needs. From this publication dates the steady growth and prosperity of that great work. The next year he went by stage and private conveyance through Utah to St. George, the southern capital of the Mormon empire, at the southwest extremity of the territory. Here he preached in the Mormon Tabernacle, the first gospel sermon ever delivered in that city. The voice of no Christian minister of any denomination had ever been heard within a hundred miles of the town. I accompanied him part of the way. On that trip, Dr. Jackson showed his rare tact more than once.

One evening, weary of travel, we found lodging in a small farmhouse. We spent the evening and far into the night in conversation with the family, and in singing gospel songs, which were new to the family. The parents and children were delighted. They asked if we were giving concerts through the country, and were surprised to learn that we were not professional singers. In the morning, when we offered compensation for our lodging, we were told that our songs were ample pay. But we declined to have the bill settled that way. Dr. Jackson offered a year's subscription to the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, and I *The Interior* for a year. The man gladly accepted both. Before leaving, at the request of the man, Dr. Jackson made a statement of our religious belief so clear, simple, and complete that the man confessed that, though new to him, it was reasonable, and that it appealed to his conscience. Soon after, he and his family left the Mormon faith and identified themselves with our church.

After Dr. Jackson's return from this trip, he wrote an open letter to the "Ladies of the Presbyterian Churches of Brooklyn," describing the condition and degradation of the women of the polygamous households he had met in various places on this journey.

This letter produced a deep impression, and gave a new impulse to the work which had just been inaugurated for the evangelization of the exceptional population of the Western territories.

In the early seventies, the town of Brigham, so named by its ecclesiastical ruler, "Apostle Lorenzo Snow," in honour of Brigham Young, was famous for its intense devotion to the exclusive tenets of the Mormon faith. It was the boast of its inhabitants that it was then, and should be kept in the future, a distinctively Mormon settlement. It was only six miles from the "Gentile" city of Corinne, where Sheldon Jackson established the first Presbyterian mission, but for several years it was almost impossible for the missionary at that point to make an appointment for a religious service or secure a place in which to hold it. In the summer of 1874, the Rev. S. L. Gillespie, a returned missionary from Africa, was sent to Corinne, and in some way he secured the opportunity to conduct a service in the court-house. For several months afterwards, he sought to get a foothold in this stronghold, but without avail. At length, he found a discontented Mormon, who had borne the yoke until patience and endurance were exhausted, and who was willing to sell his property to the Home Mission Board for a consideration. In the spring of 1878, Mr. Gillespie removed to Brigham, despite the threats which had been made by its fanatical residents, and occupied the house for a residence and mission station. Up to this point, his movements had not been fully understood, but when he actually appeared with all his outfit and quietly took possession of the house, he was banned by the priesthood and subjected to a series of insults and outrages by neighbours and hoodlum bands, with the avowed intention of forcing him to abandon his work and leave the place. Says Dr. McNiece :—

The two men who had committed the awful offense of using their wagons to move this worthy American citizen into that town from Corinne, were brought before the priestly authorities and arbitrarily dealt with.

Then the despotic command of the priesthood went around forbidding the people to sell Mr. Gillespie any supplies for his family, simply because he was an American, and a Christian American. Consequently, for several months, he had to go six miles across the country to Corinne to buy most of his provisions, dry-goods, clothing, and other necessities. Then they began to injure his property, by tearing down his fences, tipping over the outbuildings and stoning the house. Several times the windows of his dwelling were stoned, sometimes endangering life. But a man who had been four years a missionary in Africa, and three years in the calvary service during our Civil War, part of the time as a staff-officer, was the wrong man upon whom to practice this kind of intimidation. Then the children who began to attend his school were threatened, and some agent of the priesthood would stand before the door of the humble chapel on Sunday evening to intimidate the Mormon people from attending the service, by reporting their names to the priestly leaders.

Despite all these hindrances and petty persecutions, the good work went on, and soon the transforming power of the Gospel began to be felt and acknowledged. Scoffers were silenced by the sweet spirit and patient endurance of the man who confronted them. There were those who had watched the effect of the curse which had been pronounced upon his house, his well, his garden, and all the mission premises, and they were not a little shaken in their fanatical belief when they saw, as one has put it—"that the curse so far as the garden was concerned proved to be a great fertilizer, for the yield of vegetables was unusually large." As the days passed on, and this curse seemed to be harmless, in other matters a new interest was awakened in the man and his message. The neighbours who had held aloof began to make friendly advances, the school grew in numbers, and at length the

little chapel was crowded with interested and earnest listeners. When eight years after the arrival of Mr. Gillespie in their midst, a convention of the Christian teachers of the Presbyterian Church met at Brigham, some sixty in number, including ministers and missionaries, they were met at the station by the band of the town and were escorted with every demonstration of respect up to the heart of the little city, where they were welcomed by some of the best of the Mormons whose homes were open to receive them. Thus the light at length dispelled the darkness and the reception of the truth as it is in Jesus brought liberty to those who were in bondage.

About forty miles north of Ogden, on the Union Pacific road, and just over the "divide" there is a beautiful elongated basin, rimmed about with snow-capped mountains, known as the "Cache Valley." It is about forty miles in length, and from ten to twenty miles in width. Its beauty and fertility made it a desirable place for settlement, from the early occupation of the country, and Brigham Young regarded it as a valuable "stake" from which to enlarge his borders into the rich valleys of Southern Idaho.

Here also in process of time the indomitable Jackson appeared on his trail and disputed the possession of that fair heritage. In Dr. Wishard's interesting book, entitled "Our Home Mission Work in Utah," there is a full account of the origin and development of the mission to this valley.

"With the base of operations,"—he writes,—“which had been secured at Corinne and Salt Lake, Dr. Jackson pushed his investigations on northward beyond Ogden and Brigham into Logan.

"He had a genius not only for discovering work but workers also. Having found the opportunity at Logan he went in search of a man, who had grace and wisdom enough to know an opportunity on sight. He found the man in the Metropolitan

Church at Washington City—not in the pulpit, but in the pew. After he had made his plea for help before the congregation, he went into the Sabbath-school, which is always a good place to find the best material for the best service. Here he discovered Mr. Calvin M. Parks teaching a large Bible class of young ladies, while his wife and daughter had an infant class of between three and four hundred. At the close of the school, Mr. Parks was informed by the synodical missionary that he was needed in Utah; and that his work there was not to teach but to preach the Gospel; and that he should prepare himself for that work. Mr. Parks was obedient to the heavenly calling, was soon licensed to preach the Gospel, was dismissed to the Presbytery of Utah, and on the 5th of July, 1878, like Abraham, went out not knowing whither he went. He found the place, however, as every man does who obeys the call of God, and in due time he was located in the beautiful little city of Logan. He secured a 'furniture wareroom, and paint-shop back of it,' which was soon transformed into a chapel, schoolroom, study, parlour, kitchen, and hall. Early in September, the little mission school was opened with six pupils. It was a beginning, and as nothing ever proceeds without a beginning, something had been achieved. For two years, the teaching was carried on in this building, while the machinery overhead was keeping up a brisk rivalry. Mr. Parks was ordained at the first meeting of presbytery, and a church of eleven members was organized on the 10th of December, 1878."

The school which began with six pupils developed soon afterwards into the "New Jersey Academy," for the equipment of which the ladies of New Jersey contributed the handsome sum of eleven thousand dollars. In its after-growth it employed five teachers, and a matron who had charge of the boarding department. The number of pupils in attendance at this time was more than one hundred. Convinced that the whole valley was his parish, and encouraged by calls from other towns who desired like privileges, Mr. Parks pushed forward the work until he had completed the building of seven chapels outside of Logan, in the valley, each of which was utilized for a mission school. Thus was established

a series of mission churches and schools through Mormon territory from the borders of Idaho to the borders of Arizona. Up to the date of Dr. Jackson's retirement from field work, in Utah, January 1, 1881, the Presbyterian Church was the only religious body which had planted and maintained mission schools in distinctively Mormon settlements and towns.

At this date, the Presbytery of Utah reported a working force of eleven ministers and thirty-two teachers. The latter were employed in twenty-two schools, with an aggregate attendance of more than fifteen hundred pupils. It is a significant fact, and not generally known, as it ought to be, that these schools, established in the face of ridicule, opposition, and daily peril, became the germ of the public school system of Utah.

The Mormon schools which preceded them were maintained for the purpose of training the children in Mormon doctrines and practices and provided only the crudest forms of instruction. "The present Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State, although a Mormon, recently said that the Christian schools of Utah had not only paved the way for our public school system, but had made it a necessity."

It appears from data in hand that the tireless leader of the consecrated band which inaugurated and extended these agencies of enlightenment and redemption all over this benighted section of the land, made not less than sixteen round trips from his home in Denver during the first half of the decade in which he superintended the work in Utah. In this portion of his vast bishopric he was loyally supported by the entire force of missionary workers and at every point was met with a cordial welcome to their fields of labour.

When the work to which he gave more than a decade of the best years of his life passed into other hands, his in-

terest in it continued without abatement : and, by voice and pen and personal benefaction, he has continuously urged its claims and emphasized its importance. As the direct outcome of the pioneer work which he and his associates accomplished in the formative period of missionary occupation, there is now a Synod of Utah, with three aggressive presbyteries, which reaches from the northern limit of Mormon occupation in Idaho to the border of Arizona. It carries on its rolls to-day (1908) sixty-one ministers, sixty-eight churches, 3,738 communicant members, and a Sabbath-school membership of 4,308.

“Our thirty-three mission schools,” says Dr. Wishard, “which have been opened at one time and another since the work began, with our four academies, now doing full and effective work, have exerted an influence for the betterment of social and spiritual life in Utah that cannot be measured. They have furnished us some of our best mission teachers, and sent others into the public schools, and are giving us ministers of the Gospel. They have created a demand for, and at length have secured the Westminster College, founded by Dr. Sheldon Jackson, which is to be the crown of our noble Christian educational work in Utah.”

XI

PIONEER WORK IN NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA

“The human race is divided into two classes : those who go ahead and do something, and those who sit and enquire, ‘ Why wasn’t it done the other way ? ’ ”—*Oliver W. Holmes.*

WHEN Sheldon Jackson made his first visit to New Mexico, near the close of the autumn of 1870, he found a country almost as distinctively Mexican in its language, customs, civilization, and methods of labour as when it was ceded to the United States, more than a score of years before. With the busy outside world teeming with life and energy, there was no direct communication by rail or boat. With the exception of one or two stage lines, which had been recently established, the typical mode of conveyance was by the patient burro, or the lumbering ox cart, with solid wood wheels, which had served in turn without appreciable change in construction the men of every generation from the days of the Spanish occupation. The methods of agriculture were as primitive as in the lands of the East : and the various implements of agriculture and manufacture were as rude and crude as those which were in use among the Indian tribes about them. Up to this date, no attempt had been made to establish public schools, and for some time afterwards, when an effort was made to introduce them, the instruction given was almost wholly in the hands, and under the direction, of the Jesuit priests.

Through a long course of training under such influences the minds of the people had been dwarfed and their wills

enslaved. The effects which were manifest on every hand were gross illiteracy, debasing immorality, childish superstition, and a low grade of intellectual development among the common people. Salvation by works and expiation for sin by penances, and self-inflicted suffering were almost universally accepted as the sum and substance of the teaching of the Church, which for generations had claimed their allegiance and directed their worship. And, for lack of knowledge, pagan rights and Christian ordinances were strangely interblended.

The native population of New Mexico, which at this time numbered about ninety thousand, was made up of three distinct groups :

The first and largest was the Mexican. The name stands for the mixed race of the country, and every shade of colour and type of nationality, from the pure Castilian to the Indian of the Montezuma dynasties, were represented in this group. It included every grade of intellectual and moral development, also ; but the condition of the masses was indicative of a long process of moral debasement and a sad lack of the enlightening, uplifting influence of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Of the Mexican women, very few could read or write, and five-sixths of the children were growing up without any of the advantages of an ordinary school education.

The second group was the remnant of the mysterious aboriginal race, known as the Pueblo Indians. They were located in eighteen pueblos of curious construction originally constructed for defense. Before the days of civilized warfare they were practically impregnable. Each story of these communal houses, frequently built on the summit or shelf of cliffs, rose in successive terraces, the upper levels being narrower than the lower. The only approach to the lower stories was by means of ladders, which could be withdrawn in time of danger. Each

pueblo was an Indian town contracted into one great building containing many separate cells or habitations. The residents were governed by rulers of the patriarchal type, and from generation to generation enjoyed a community of goods and interests. While nominally Roman Catholic, they were pagan in belief and practice. They worshipped the sun, and also their ancestors, with mysterious rites and incantations closely resembling the old ceremonies and sacrifices of Baal worship. Many of them looked forward to the coming of Montezuma, and, like the Aztecs of Mexico, they had risen to a higher plane of civilization, especially in the line of industrial art, than any of the aboriginal tribes around them.

The third group included all the nomadic Indian tribes of the country. They resembled the Indians of the plains, and had nothing in common with the residents of the pueblos. All told, they did not number more than fifteen or twenty thousand, but they were savage and relentless in their desultory modes of warfare, and for several years were a menace to the explorers and early settlers of the territory. The combined force of the aborigines, of both of the above mentioned groups, was about one-fifth of the population.

Except the affairs connected with the administration of the government there was but little at this time to attract the adventurers or home-seekers of the Anglo-Saxon race. A few of its best and worst representatives were to be found at Santa Fé, or in settlements connected with the army posts, but, apart from these, the actual residents of American birth were, in point of numbers, a very insignificant element of the population.

While the field itself, throughout its vast extent, was distinctively foreign missionary ground, its population being alien in faith, language, customs, education, and sympathies, it was also included within the bounds and

under the care of a newly-organized presbytery and synod, every rood of which was recognized as home mission territory. It was, in a word, the meeting-place of both branches and departments of the missionary work of the Church; hence, it was inevitable that new problems should grow out of this anomalous condition; and that new methods and agencies should be utilized to solve them. As the advance agent of the Home Board, and of the synod, Sheldon Jackson was concerned mainly with the magnitude of the task before him and the most direct methods of accomplishing it. His first trip to New Mexico included Santa Fé, the ancient capital of the territory. At this time, the only available mode of travel was the stage-coach from Denver. The record of the journey is condensed into a single sentence in his notebook, under date of August 26, 1870:—"To New Mexico by stage and return 1,000 miles." At Santa Fé, he found congenial associates and a cordial welcome at the home of the Rev. D. F. McFarland, who opened the first mission in the territory, under commission of the Board of Domestic Missions (O. S), November 22, 1886. In after years, the widow of this devoted missionary accompanied Dr. Jackson on his first journey to Alaska, and took charge of the mission established by him in that far away Northland.

In the autumn of 1872, Dr. Jackson visited Fort Garland, and Taos, New Mexico. At the first named point he preached and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. At Taos he was the guest of Mrs. Kit Carson, the widow of the celebrated scout and guide of the Fremont expedition across the Rocky Mountains.

For the reasons already given, the growth of New Mexico was slow until near the middle of the decade, when the discovery of its mineral wealth and the opening up of its remote sections to travel and traffic, by rail-



PIONEER MISSIONARIES IN COLORADO, NEW MEXICO, OREGON, WASHINGTON, NEVADA AND CALIFORNIA.

(For names see Appendix, page 481. Group 5.)



roads and other modern modes of conveyance, made it a more desirable place of residence and largely reinforced its population of English-speaking people. In October, 1871, the Presbytery of Santa Fé, which covered the whole territory, reported only two churches and five ministers. One of this number was a chaplain of the United States Army, two were pastors of home mission churches, and two were missionaries to the Navajo Indians. Beside these, there were six ministers belonging to other connections or denominations, making in all a missionary force of eleven representatives of the Protestant Church.

During this period of slow development, the superintendent kept in close touch with the work by correspondence and gave his time for travel mainly to other portions of the field. Meanwhile, he was untiring in his efforts to secure funds for those who were labouring in the territory. By public addresses, and through the columns of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, he drew attention to its deplorable condition, the necessity for organized effort, and a new departure in the methods of work, in order to meet the condition of the unreached masses of its native population. From the first he saw the inconsistency and inadequacy of the attempt to evangelize this territory, already under the care of a regularly constituted presbytery, through the agency of the Board of Foreign Missions. He was firmly convinced, also, that it was only a question of time until the Church at large would realize this and make suitable provision for the enlargement of the work, as it was doing in every other portion of the home field.

Through the efficient aid of some of the woman's missionary societies of the East, funds had been already secured for the establishment of schools at two of the most important points, and, in view of the increasing interest

manifested in this field, the Board felt justified, at the opening of the year 1875, in sending Dr. Jackson on a more extensive tour of exploration, with a view to the immediate establishment of missions among the Mexican, Pueblo, and Indian population of the country.

The 5th of July did not seem to be a very favourable time for the beginning of a journey southward almost to the borders of Mexico, but the exigencies of the service did not admit of much choice of time or place. Hence, with two overcoats for the mountain section of the tour, and the lightest of summer clothing for the hot, dusty plain of the lowland sections, he took his departure at the date above mentioned. By this time the Denver and Rio Grande road was completed as far as Pueblo, where the stage was taken for the remainder of the long journey. In Southern Colorado, black rain-clouds swept over the mountains, discharging their contents for a time in heavy showers which swept down the cañons and gulleys, making the roadway insecure, and greatly impeding the progress of the coach. A report that a portion of the road over the Raton Pass had been washed out reached the conductor about midnight, and orders were given to wait at a wayside station until daybreak. This delay gave Dr. Jackson the opportunity to breakfast at one o'clock, A. M., after which he rolled his greatcoat around him and slept soundly for two hours on a billiard table of the hostelry. At four A. M. the journey was resumed. Near the summit of the Pass, the territorial line was crossed into New Mexico. At Red River station, where General Kearney and his army of invasion made their first camp in New Mexico, the coach stopped for dinner. From this point the route led southward through Las Vegas, Santa Fé, and Albuquerque, to Silver City, the objective point of the long journey. At every crossing, the streams were flooded, and in one instance a Mexican

was hired to ford the stream in advance of the coach to guide the course of the driver. On the preceding Saturday the coach was washed away, in attempting to cross this ford, the driver was drowned, and the mail destroyed. One section of the journey, a stretch of ninety miles, known as the "Jornado del Muerto" (the journey of death) has been for generations the terror of all who were called to pass that way. Formerly, there was but one spring of water across its whole extent, and this was several miles from the road. Many travellers have perished with thirst in attempting to cross this desert without a sufficient water-supply, and the bones of scores of animals still mark the course, which men have followed for long ages across this barren waste. At the date of this journey, there was a deep well about midway along the route which some enterprising Germans had dug, but it was necessary still to swing a keg of water under the hind axle of the coach from which to refresh the team by the way.

At a point on one section of the first great overland route to California, the occupants of the coach were notified that they were just 1,200 miles from St. Louis, and the same distance from San Francisco. It is said that in the early days the stages ran this distance—2,400 miles,—across mountains, deserts, and treacherous streams, with such regularity that during twelve months there was not a single failure to deliver the mail on schedule time; and every day, for two winter months, the stages from San Francisco and St. Louis met within three hundred yards of this half-way point. From this section of the journey to Silver City, its terminus southward, the route was through the country of the treacherous Apaches. The discomforts of these long night-journeys were many and not infrequently of an unusually aggravating character. The first night out, after crossing into New

Mexico, Jackson had the coach to himself. After supper he secured permission to place some hay in the bottom of the coach and upon this he spread his blanket and made the best of the situation. It was, at best, as he puts it, "a sleeping or attempting to sleep, under difficulties. A sudden lurch would jam my head against the farther end of the coach, or a jolt toss me up, to come down with a thud, while constrained and cramped positions brought on nightmare." Another night, while on this journey, Dr. Jackson was rudely awakened by a crash, followed by a volley of oaths. In the darkness, his coach had collided with the up-coach in a ravine. The lamps in both were smashed, and wheels and whiffletrees were securely interlocked. After considerable delay, the coaches were extricated from this perilous situation and went their ways.

Some months before his arrival at Silver City the superintendent had secured a commission from the Home Board for the Rev. W. W. Curtis, who was already on the ground and had received a hearty welcome from those who were favourable to the establishment of a missionary station. He was then the only Protestant minister in a tract of country whose area was nearly 300 square miles. His nearest railway town and station was Austin, some 750 miles distant.

The county court, which was in session when Dr. Jackson arrived, showed its appreciation of his labours on behalf of the country by adjourning that he might have the use of the room occupied by the court for a preaching service. After making the ascent of Mount Pinos Altos, in the main range between the Atlantic and the Pacific, under the guidance of Mr. Curtis, he started on the return journey. At Las Cruces he spent the Sabbath and preached at this place and at Mesilla to a little company of American residents, who were as sheep without a shep-

herd. Seven days and six nights were occupied on the return journey. On the round trip twenty-four days and fifteen nights were spent in the stage or on horseback. One object of this long journey, as already intimated, was to visit some of the pueblos and secure such information concerning their residents as would be helpful in the establishing of one or more missions among them. The importance of this work was accentuated by the fact that in the allotment of the several Indian tribes to the various Christian denominations, by the government, the Pueblos had been assigned to the Presbyterian Church. With the coöperation of General Gregg of the United States Army, who furnished horses from the post at Santa Fé, Dr. Jackson, accompanied by the missionary pastor at this point, the Rev. George G. Smith, made a detour of about seventy miles from his route to visit the Pueblos at Santa Cruz and Taos.

ARIZONA

In the spring of 1875, by enactment of the General Assembly, the territory of Arizona was added to the Synod of Colorado. This gave to its superintendent of missions a new field to explore. It comprised an area of 114,000 square miles, and throughout its vast extent there was not, at this time, apart from the military posts, a single Protestant minister of the Gospel.

In the spring of 1876, Dr. Jackson made provision for a visit to this distant territory by an appeal issued to individual contributors. This was done with the consent of the Board, for the reason that no funds could be spared from its treasury at that time for this purpose.

Before he started on the journey, he had been successful also in interesting the "Ladies' Union Missionary School Association," located at Albany, New York, in the pueblo at Laguna. Here it was proposed to establish

a mission, and the officers of the society had pledged a sufficient amount to support a teacher, in case a suitable man could be found.

In the good providence of God, one who was admirably adapted to the field was found by Dr. Jackson, and it was a part of his errand to locate him on it while *en route* to Arizona. The man selected for this difficult field was the Rev. John Menaul. In 1870, he had been sent by the Foreign Board to the Navajo Mission, where he remained until the spring of 1875. The experience which he had among the Navajos, and later for a few months among the Apaches, was a valuable preparation for the initial work of instruction and evangelization at the pueblo of Laguna. In a remarkable manner, also, the way had been prepared for the coming of Mr. Menaul to this people. As far back as the year 1852, the Rev. Samuel Gorman, a Baptist missionary, had found his way to the pueblo, but for nine months could not get access to the people, because of the bitter hostility of the priests, who had usurped authority over them in all things temporal, as well as in things spiritual. At length, the missionary and his wife were introduced to the council of the village by Captain H. L. Dodge, of the regular army, a Christian gentleman in whom the Indians had implicit confidence. He told them that they were his friends, who had come to do them good by preaching the Gospel and teaching their children. After carefully considering the matter in council, they consented to receive Mr. Gorman among them and formally adopted him and his family as children of the pueblo. In the enjoyment of this privilege he was free to go in and out among them and to take up a small tract of unoccupied land for his own use; but the long dominant influence of the priests was manifested in every effort which he attempted to make for the instruction or elevation of the people. For six years he tried to get the

children to come to a school which he opened, and failed. Their parents were friendly to him, but would not require their children to come. The fear of the priests, with whom he had many a conflict, had its influence upon his hearers as Sabbath by Sabbath he faithfully preached the Gospel.

On several occasions the rulers of the Indians were compelled to whip the people for failure to attend mass. One morning he witnessed the whipping of forty-two women and children at the church door, because in some way they had offended the priest.

They were ordered to bare their backs, says Mr. Gorman, and then the lashes were laid on until the priest who stood by was satisfied. Amid such influences and determined opposition, this faithful missionary laboured until the spring of 1859, when he accepted an invitation from the Mission Board of his church to become the pastor of the church at Santa Fé. As the direct result of his labours one woman and three prominent men of the pueblo were converted, one of whom became his interpreter. This man, a devout student of the Bible, was afterwards licensed to preach. When Mr. Gorman went away, the mission was given into his charge. He continued to preach until his death, in July, 1861. At the time of his death he was also governor of the pueblo. From this date until the establishment of the Presbyterian mission—five years later—they were destitute of all religious instruction. Meanwhile, the leaven of the Gospel had been silently working, and there was a deep-seated desire to have another teacher of the Gospel like the good man who had testified of the truth by his life as well as by his words. In 1870, a young woman¹ passed through that region on her way to the Navajo Mission. The people of the Laguna pueblo had heard in some way that she was

¹Miss C. A. Gaston.

coming as a missionary to them, and they sent out an official delegation to meet the stage and welcome her. When they heard that she was going farther, they were much disappointed and pleaded with her to remain with them to tell them of the Saviour and teach their children. In the wonder-working of God's providence this woman was now coming back to them, after six years of waiting, as the wife of the Rev. John Menaul.

By previous appointment, Dr. Jackson met the Indian agent, Mr. B. M. Thomas, Mr. Menaul, and the Rev. George Smith at Santa Fé. On the 23d of March, he started with these friends in a government ambulance to establish the mission at Laguna. The journey, which occupied three days, was broken for a few hours at Albuquerque, a place of prospective importance, where a preaching service was held at which the superintendent and Mr. Smith took part. At sundown on Saturday evening, the little party arrived at the village of Laguna and received a cordial welcome from the lieutenant governor who was presiding during the temporary absence of the governor. Messengers were sent out for all the absent officials, and runners dispatched to the little bands of Indians who were out with the flocks and herds to summon them to a council on the following day.

At the appointed time, the Indians poured into the assembly room, filling every vacant seat and occupying all the standing-room from the platform to the door. The governor, the lieutenant-governor, the war captain, and other officials occupied the left hand side of the platform, and the honourable women, the wives and children of the chief men of the Pueblo, the left. In the centre were seated the missionaries, the agent, and two interpreters. Dr. Jackson made the first address after the council was regularly opened. He expressed his pleasure in meeting with so many residents of the village ; described the two

classes of white people, those that were made good by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, and those who refused to acknowledge God in their lives and actions. He emphasized the thought also that those who were led by the Spirit of God had a desire to lead others into the good way and that, for this reason, the good women of Albany, many days' travel to the sun-rising, when they had heard that the Laguna people had no Bible and no teacher, met together in council and had sent to them Minister Menaul to give them the Bible and teach them about God and His Son, Jesus Christ, who had come into the world to save sinners. Addresses following were made by Mr. Smith, Mr. Thomas, the Indian agent, and Mr. Menaul. To all these, the audience gave heed as if spellbound. When, at the close, the agent turned to the governor and asked what response his people desired to make, their eager countenances were lightened up, their blankets were thrown back, and in an instant they were all talking and gesticulating at once. After they had been quieted down, the governor announced that the people had said, "They were glad, very glad, that the good women of Albany had sent them a teacher. Now they could learn to be good, and they would do as the good man had told them. It was all good, very good."

Then followed a prayer of thanksgiving and the benediction, while the whole company reverently bowed their heads. Next morning another council was held, at which land was granted for mission premises and arrangements were made for building an irrigation ditch to connect with the ground which the missionary desired to bring under cultivation. Leaving Mr. Menaul to begin his work under such favourable circumstances, the rest of the party started on the return journey at an early hour on Tuesday morning. The lieutenant-governor showed his regard for their kindness to his people by escorting them

some twelve miles on their way. A few months later, Mr. Menaul wrote: "The work here is progressing beyond my highest expectations. The Lagunas are in a fair way to abandon the last forms of heathen dances and devil-worship. The church is crowded every Sabbath. For lack of seats, very many of the people have to stand up during the services." In the month of October, a school was started, with thirty scholars. Thus was the first mission begun, with its school and other equipments, among the aborigines of the pueblos, the remnants, as some think, of the ancient Aztec race.

The Ladies' Society at Albany supported the church and school at Laguna for three years, when it was turned over to the care of the Woman's Executive Committee of the Presbyterian Church.

At Santa Fé, Sheldon Jackson took the coach for a continuous ride to Tucson, which was at that time the capital of the territory of Arizona. A one-seated "buck-board" was substituted for the coach at Silver City. The first night's experience in this conveyance is thus described by this long-suffering traveller:—"There were four hundred pounds of mail heaped on in front and back, so that there was no alternative but to sit bolt upright. Once I started to crouch down between the seat and dashboard, but, small as I am, it could not be done with comfort. So strapping myself to the seat lest I should get asleep and fall off, I got through with the night as best I could. There were no houses between stations. The first stop west of Silver City was thirty-five miles, which we made in five hours. There we took supper—two fried eggs, fried beef, and a cup of coffee. The charge for this wayside meal was one dollar. There was a cañon at this place which showed up distinctly in the light of the full moon. Our next house and station was twenty-two miles distant. We had a pair of wild horses

and made the distance in three hours. At this station there were four men who were evidently equipped for instant attack or defense. Their house was an armoury of guns and revolvers."

At Point of Rocks, a station eighty-five miles from the stopping-place last mentioned, a covered wagon was secured and here two more travellers were booked for the remaining portion of the journey.

After six days and five nights of continuous travel, in coach and buckboard, Dr. Jackson reached Tucson, and so far yielded to the demands of overstrained nerves and muscles as to take a daylight nap of three or four hours. "About 3 P. M.," as he puts it, "got up, washed, had a good cup of tea, and felt better." Not long afterwards, his search for Presbyterians was rewarded by the discovery of six communicant members. Under date of April 12th, he writes:—

"Last Sabbath, I held the first Presbyterian service that was ever held in Tucson, and organized the first Presbyterian, and second Protestant church, ever organized in the territory. Services were held in the court-house, with an attendance of about one hundred. J. B. Clum, formerly elder at Santa Fé, was made ruling elder. Ex-Governor McCormick gives the church eligible lots for building. Mr. Clum presents them with a good cabinet organ. They hope to build, by next fall, an adobe church, with board floor. The whole Protestant element of the community gives the new movement their hearty sympathy. Sabbath afternoon, the governor was invited in to dine with me, and in the evening we had a praise meeting. They have a number of good singers among the citizens. On Monday news was brought in of an outbreak of the Chir-ai-chuai, Apache Indians. We staged it through their reservation all day last Thursday, and on the next day they were on the war-path. The troops are out after

them, and couriers have been sent out to warn the scattered farming settlements."

The above mentioned service was thus advertized in the Saturday morning issue of one of the Tucson daily papers :—

"The word of God will be preached in the court-house to-morrow morning at 10:30 A. M. We bespeak a large attendance. These seasons of grace are rare at Tucson to the Protestant residents. The Rev. Mr. Jackson comes highly recommended. The ladies will certainly be there. They are always found in every good word and work. Let them suggest to their husbands and male friends for once to neglect the everlasting reckonings of profit and loss, or to forego the last sensation, the problems of politics, the comic weekly, the agile billiard ball, the seductive sevens-up, or the Sunday morning's nap, and wend their way to the house of worship."

On Monday evening, the journey by stage was resumed. At Montezuma station, Dr. Jackson sent an Indian courier to the Pima Agency for an ambulance. While waiting for it he availed himself of the opportunity to visit the famous ruins of Casa Grande, in the immediate vicinity. Returning to Montezuma he found the ambulance was ready and at once started for the agency, fourteen miles distant. The following day (Wednesday) after securing some valuable information concerning this tribe, and some good specimens of Pima pottery, idols, stone weapons, etc., he took the stage northward for Prescott, a promising town which afterwards became the capital of the territory. In the valley of the Salt River, a name suggestive of anything but fertility and prosperity, he found beautifully cultivated farms, which had been cropped for three hundred years without any diminution of their fertility. At Wickenburg, he was detained from 6 A. M. until 6 P. M. to make connections with the stage for Prescott. The

only place to sit down during this long day was in the billiard and drinking saloon, with the most villainous, cutthroat crew with which he had come in contact on the trip. Two or three days were spent at Prescott looking over the ground and preparing the way for a mission station and an ultimate organization of a church. A few months later, the Rev. John A. Merrill, a graduate of the San Francisco Theological Seminary, was secured as a supply for this station, and the Rev. J. E. Anderson, who had laboured successfully for some time in Colorado, was commissioned for Tucson. For a while after his arrival, Mr. Merrill paid for himself and wife, one hundred and thirty dollars per month for board and the use of one room. This was five dollars more per month than the salary allowed him by the Board. His travelling expenses to the field amounted to one hundred and thirty-two dollars besides.

In the face of difficulties and self-denials such as these, the first churches in this new empire of the Southwest were planted and nourished. Dr. Jackson found it easier at this time to return by way of the Pacific coast. The journey to "Seven Palms," in California, the southern terminus of the railroad,—was made by stage-coach without accident or detention. It was a dreary ride, however, over waterless deserts and drifting sands, so heavy in places that frequently for hours the six horse team "could not get off a walk." During two of the nights spent on this journey, he strapped himself to the top of the coach, on deck, in order that he might enjoy the luxury of stretching his limbs at full length while he slept. At Seven Palms, his long stage ride, of well-nigh 1,800 miles, was ended. It was a welcome relief to exchange the rough riding of the coach for the cars, which left the station at 11 P. M. and arrived at Los Angeles at 10 A. M. the next day. His arrival in San Francisco, which seems to have followed closely upon the visit of Dom Pedro,

Emperor of Brazil, is thus announced in the *Occident* of May 4th :—

Another man, as marked in his way, and whose influence will not be less lasting than an emperor's, visited our city last week, the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D.—a small, compact, well-knit, sinewy, sanguine, sunburnt young man. We are surprised to find in such a form the great religious explorer and founder of churches all over the central western section of the United States. We had the pleasure of sitting in conversation with him and our own district missionary, Rev. Thomas Fraser, who has been doing similar work in all the vast region of the West coast, from Puget Sound to San Diego. Some of our Eastern brethren are opposed to this system of district supervision. Those of us familiar with these vast spiritual wastes are perfectly aware that there is no other possible means of establishing mission work over them. No man can engage in that war at his own expense and hazard. No pastor can go out of his field, hundreds of miles, and give the labour and time needful to work up these churches. In California we were for a long period without such labour. Fields lost to us, churches actually built by us, and then disposed of, or turned over to other denominations, attest the result.

In the following year—1877—Dr. Jackson made three trips to this remote section of his vast missionary field, and, meanwhile—between the first and second—explored the regions beyond to the northwest as far as Sitka in Alaska. The first trip was made during the months of March and April. It included a series of tiresome and dangerous journeys by ox cart for *five* continuous days,¹ ambulance and on horseback to the various settlements of the Zuni, Navajo, Moqui, and Jemez Indians. The object of these visits was to prepare the way for the establishment of missions, as soon as the necessary arrangement could be made to man and support them. A significant warning, which did not act as a deterrent, however,

¹ The return journey was made in the same conveyance—making a round trip of ten days by ox cart.



Pueblo of Zuni, N. Mex. A Round-trip of Two Weeks to Zuni
by Drs. Jackson and Menaul.

was given by Mr. Menaul in outlining an itinerary for this tour. "At present," he wrote, "there is a band of some forty highwaymen on the road between Old Fort Wingate and Zuni, who are robbing nearly every traveller in all this section of the country, so that travelling is well-nigh impossible, except by large, armed parties. I hope these gangs will soon be broken up, at least before your time is on to visit us." Fortunately for Dr. Jackson and his companion, Mr. W. H. Jackson,—the photographer and artist of the Hayden Survey party,—who secured a collection of valuable views illustrative of the journey, the passage through this abode of the forty thieves was made without attack or molestation. In this and in several other instances, stages or private conveyances were held up by Indians and road agents immediately preceding or following the journey made by this hardy traveller, but amid all these dangers he seemed to be shielded and guarded by an unseen hand and a vigilant, unseen Watcher who never slept.

The experiences and impressions of this missionary tour are briefly given in an incidental notice of a meeting of the Presbytery of Colorado, which was held at Colorado Springs, May 8th to 9th. The writer, an editor of one of the local papers, mentions the fact that the Darley brothers came to the meeting across the mountains from Del Norte and Lake City, a distance of 285 miles, in a pony buggy, being one week on the way; and, as an offset to this, adds :—

The Rev. Sheldon Jackson—who does not know him? the Bishop of the Rocky Mountains—made his appearance on the second day, on his return from a two months' tour through New Mexico and Arizona. It is hard to keep track of this brother. It is worth a man's life almost to keep in sight even of his coat-tail, as he glides around the mountains or plunges into deep ravines, or darts away southward among a strange and

wild people. On this trip he had travelled 3,000 miles, mostly in government conveyances. He brings sad tidings from an unexplored region, sad, because these strange tribes, the remnants, as some think, of the Aztec people, are idolaters, having no knowledge of Christ. He brought home a number of hideous and veritable specimens of idols. He told us he had seen confined in one coral three thousand children, four thousand women and two thousand men: in all nine thousand Navajo Indians, to be counted by government officials preparatory to the distribution of supplies; yet not one of the 9,000 had ever heard of Christ. The Church needs just such indomitable pioneers as Dr. Jackson at the front.

On the second journey of the season to New Mexico, which was made, as already noted, after his return from Alaska, Dr. Jackson was favoured with more agreeable company than usually fell to his lot on missionary journeys. It was a tour of inspection rather than of exploration, and his companions were Mrs. Jackson, Dr. Henry Kendall, the veteran secretary of the Home Board, and Mrs. Kendall. The ladies of the party were the representatives of a great company of women who had heard the call for help from this semi-pagan section of the land and were organizing their forces, even then, to undertake a work which for extent and efficiency has no parallel in the history of missionary activities. Careful preparation was made for this journey in advance through the kindness of Indian agents and some of the officers of the army, who were in a position to offer transportation and an escort, if necessary. The report that smallpox had broken out in its most virulent form at Santa Fé and in some of the pueblos was somewhat of a damper to the enthusiasm of the party in preparing for the journey, but a reassuring message from the brethren in this portion of the field decided the question in favour of making the attempt. Dr. Kendall was somewhat concerned to know what sort of a side-saddle the ladies would want for an

eighty mile trip on horseback, but presumably this was answered to his satisfaction by the organizer of the party. The journey included the Mexican villages of New Mexico, as far south as Albuquerque and the Indian pueblos of Taos, Laguna, and Jemez. The smallpox proved to be a very real menace, for its ravages and loathsome eruptions were in evidence throughout a large section of the country which was visited, and in the pueblos the party came into very close contact with those who were suffering from it. It is a matter of record that as many persons died of this disease in New Mexico during this year as of yellow fever in the South in 1878. "There has been no sadder sight in these United States," said Dr. Jackson, in describing some of the scenes which were witnessed on this journey, "than the despair of these heathen mothers as child after child was carried out from their presence. Some prepared feather prayers and fastened them upon their children in the vain hope of staying the ravages of the disease. Others threw themselves upon the floor and rolled in agony before their wooden idols, that had eyes that could not see, ears that could not hear their frantic cries, and hands that could not save. And then these poor childless mothers sat in their loneliness and despair, without comfort, because no one had told them of the Comforter : without a hope, because no one had ever told them of the Shepherd who gathers the lambs to Himself."

This exploration tour, with a secretary of the Board for a travelling companion, resulted in an enlargement of the work in New Mexico and possibly a more sympathetic fellowship with the superintendent in his self-denying work on the frontier. In Dr. Kendall, also, the church had a secretary who was equal to the occasion, and who had been at the front before. "If the church," says one of the party, "could have seen how gracefully the senior

secretary of home missions can handle a frying-pan before a camp-fire, eat off a tin plate seated Indian fashion, and when night comes roll up in a blanket and sleep on the ground without a tent, the coyotes barking around the camp, they would recognize the same vigour that is everywhere manifest in home missions."

After a sojourn of nearly six weeks in New Mexico, Dr. Jackson and his party returned to Denver, arriving about the middle of October. On the 17th of the same month, Dr. Henry K. Palmer, a medical missionary from the church of Colorado Springs, reached the Zuni pueblo, with his family, and opened a mission, in accordance with arrangements made by the missionary superintendent. Soon after his arrival, he wrote: "I do not believe that a more needy field exists in the world, and the work corresponds to that among the most heathenish of people. There are at least 1,300 souls in this pueblo, and no one else has ever attempted to gather them as a portion of Christ's harvest." In this pueblo, Dr. Palmer faced the horrors of the smallpox during the winter, and for a time deaths occurred at the rate of from one to five a day. The exposures and hardships incident to the care of the sick and the beginning of his labours in a field so difficult and depressing, seriously affected Dr. Palmer's health, and in the following spring he was obliged to relinquish his work. Under date of May 6th, Mr. Menaul wrote: "Dr. Palmer left here on his way home to die. It is so sad. He had secured the confidence and love of the people to a wonderful degree, and his work was opening up with much promise." "Three or four of the leading men of the pueblo followed Dr. Palmer and his family on this homeward journey 200 miles and could not speak of their loss without weeping."

A few days after his arrival in Denver, Dr. Jackson started on the third tour to New Mexico, with a view to

attending the fall meeting of the Presbytery of Santa Fé and completing some arrangements for other sections of this needy field. At Fort Garland, New Mexico, he was met by the Rev. Alexander M. Darley, who had secured a light buckboard with a team of bronchos to take him across the mountains to Tierra Amarilla. In a letter to Dr. Kendall, under date of November 2d, some interesting experiences are given in connection with this ride over the mountains :—

A few miles out from Garland there came on a severe storm of hail, snow, and sleet, in which we rode three or four hours without cover or umbrella. Made Conejos the first day and put up at a Mexican house where we had coffee (without milk), stewed mutton, and tortillas for supper, and the same for breakfast. Ten miles west of Conejos, we commenced climbing the mountains, and from thence on it was up and up, the snow increasing from one inch to a foot in depth. The new military road exists only in imagination as yet. It has been staked out and blazed through woods, but not graded, and some tracks have been made by pilgrims, like ourselves, supposing there really was a road there. The first teams were thirty days in getting over sixty miles and a number were two weeks on the way. We made it in two days, but at great risk to life and limb. About 1 P. M. on Thursday, we trotted over the edge of a precipitous slope of about 1,000 feet, not seeing it until we made the turn of the descent. I sprang out. Darley instantly put on the brakes, but they would not hold, and soon the bronchos were on a full run. The wagon flew through the air as it bounded from rock to rock and our blankets and provisions strewed the road. I gave up the team for lost, when one of the bronchos concluded to balk. The momentum was so great, however, that he slid along about fifty feet before the wagon came to a stop, and not a step farther would he budge. We finally took the team off, and, chaining both wheels, let the wagon down the mountain by hand. From this point we toiled through cañons, bogs, over fallen timber and rocks, until night overtook us on the summit, at an elevation of 10,000 feet. We drove into a thick clump of tall pines and camped. The snow was nearly two feet deep, and the cold was intense.

I judge below zero. With great labour we heaped up a pile of logs three or four feet high for a fire, which sent the sparks to the top of the tallest pines and lighted up the woods all around. The horses were tied on one side of the fire to protect them from the mountain lions, and we laid pine boughs on top of the snow for our bed. We took turns at sleeping and watching during the night. Next morning, we were on the way about sunrise, and during the forenoon were able to make only one mile an hour. Twice we had to take the team off, lock the wheels, turn the wagon around, and let it down a mountain-side backward with ropes by hand from one to two thousand feet. At one point, Mr. Darley gave up completely and declared we might as well abandon the wagon first as last. But I told him we could try, and if we got down safely, all right, and if the thing went to the bottom with a smash, it was not much worse than to abandon it at the top. After a severe struggle, however, we did get down safely, and about 2 P. M. we passed out of the mountains into the valley. The rest of the afternoon we made from six to eight miles an hour, and reached the Indian agency after nightfall. Have made arrangements to preach at the Chicago colony, six miles above, tomorrow. There are eight families in this settlement. Mr. Darley and agent Russell are now off visiting some of the Mexican plazas. The smallpox is raging all through this region, and is proving very fatal.

Taos, the objective point of this journey, was reached on the fourth day out from Tierra Amarilla. On the third day, Mr. Darley missed the road and went twenty miles out of the way, reaching the Rio Grande about 9 P. M. "Not daring to cross the river in the darkness, they camped by the roadside until the dawning of the morning." The night was bitterly cold and the situation in general very far from comfortable. There was a good representation of the various mission stations at the meeting of the presbytery, and the great theme of all its sessions was the evangelization of this long-neglected heritage of the nation. One feature of special interest was the licensing of four native missionary teachers, the

first-fruits of work among the Mexican element of the territory.

In the spring of 1878, Dr. J. M. Shields and family were sent to the pueblo of Jemez, and soon after their arrival opened a mission and day-school. In the month of September following, Sheldon Jackson made another visit to this portion of the territory and assisted in the organization of a Presbyterian church at Jemez. A week later, a church was organized by the missionary in charge, John Menaul, and Dr. Jackson, at the Laguna pueblo. On the 8th of November, the Rev. T. F. Taylor and family arrived at Zuni, and took charge of the mission at that place, as the successor of Dr. Palmer.

By his patient, persistent efforts, the missionary superintendent secured funds for the erection of mission buildings at Jemez and Zuni during this year.

In the winter of 1879, Dr. Jackson secured a contract from the government for the erection and equipment of a boarding and industrial school for the Pueblos at Albuquerque. He also obtained permission from Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, to place fifteen Navajo, ten Pueblo and five Moqui children in the Indian training school at Carlisle, Pa.

With a view to the inauguration of this new departure in the instruction of the Indian wards of the nation on a larger scale he was appointed the special agent of the government to collect Indian children from the various tribes and mission stations under his charge and place them in such schools as should be designated by the government officials. About the beginning of the month of July, 1880, he made a trip to New Mexico, to test the willingness of the Indians to part with their children for this purpose. In each case it was necessary to secure the permission of the tribe, as well as of the parents, and this required careful handling of the leaders, who were

naturally suspicious and averse to anything which seemed to be revolutionary or out of the usual course of events. After many vexatious delays and solemn deliberations at council-fires, ten Indian boys were secured from the Pueblos, and one from the Apaches. At the Navajo agency, there was a disposition at first to send the full number for which provision had been made, but the decision of the warriors was overruled by the squaws, who were not present at the council, but had influence enough to stay its proceedings. In the hope that their objections might be overcome in time, Dr. Jackson gathered up those who had been already secured and conducted them in person to Pittsburg, Pa., where he made arrangements for their safe delivery at the school in Carlisle. An interesting incident, illustrative of his adaptability to circumstances and prompt decision in emergencies, was given in one of the Carlisle papers in connection with a brief account of the arrival of this little band of Indian boys from New Mexico. The writer, who seems to have been connected with the school, says:—

The Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., who brought us the Pueblo children, had a narrow escape on his trip East. He was engaged to lecture on Alaska and the Indians on the 29th of July, in the Assembly Hall at Chautauqua, New York. He expected to reach Carlisle and deliver to us the party of children by July 24th, but storms and the washing out of railroad bridges in Colorado, detained the party, so that on the morning of the day he was to deliver his lecture at Chautauqua he had only reached Pittsburg, Pa. Sending forward his party of children and telegraphing us to meet them at Harrisburg, he turned aside to keep his Chautauqua engagement. He reached the grounds six minutes before the time appointed for his lecture, went on the stand at once, and delivered, what the records of the assembly pronounced a most intensely interesting and instructive lecture in behalf of Indian education and missionary work. But then six minutes was on time!

On the 14th of August, 1880, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church transferred the Indian tribes in Arizona which had been assigned to their care by the government to the Home Board of the Presbyterian Church. This action was officially communicated to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. It resulted in bringing some 16,000 Indians of various tribes, several of which had not been cared for hitherto, into close relations with the Presbyterian Church. During the winter months of December and January which followed this action, Sheldon Jackson visited three of these tribes and arranged for the establishment of missions among them. This was done in connection with another expedition, authorized by the Indian commissioner, to collect children from several of the tribes in New Mexico and Arizona, for the schools at Hampton and Carlisle. On this long and perilous journey, Mrs. Jackson accompanied her husband and assisted him in the care of the children. On the greater part of this trip he was favoured also with the company and assistance of Mr. M. E. Conklin, travelling artist of the Frank Leslie Publishing Company, who availed himself of the opportunity to visit the out-of-the-way places to which Dr. Jackson was going in the interests of the house with which he was connected. On the journey southward from Albuquerque, Dr. and Mrs. Jackson had the advantage of travel by rail over the newly constructed railroad to San Marcial, the terminal station of the passenger line. This was reached after hours of vexatious delays, one hour too late for the outgoing construction train, upon which they expected to continue their journey. As there was no train available of this character until the next morning, they were obliged to wait over for it. Through this long winter day they shivered around a red hot stove in a temporary canvas hotel, while the thermometer registered near zero

outside. General John Fremont, who was travelling with them over this line, shared their discomforts, for here there was no advantage in rank or station, and contributed liberally to the general fund of conversation and reminiscence which helped to wile away the slowly moving hours. Their sleeping-place for the night was a rough shanty, eight feet by six in dimensions. The night was so cold that the clock stopped and the landlord, missing the usual ring of the hours, overslept, and the little party was aroused, too late for breakfast, with the warning that the train was about to start.

Stumbling along in the dark for a quarter of a mile they were hurried into an emigrant car, attached to a freight train, which was already crowded with saloon men and gamblers, who were moving to the front. The car was unlighted and cold, and the general discomfort of the men found expression in increased drinking, smoking, and profanity. Thus the New Year's day—1881—was spent from seven A. M. to one in the afternoon, when a transfer was made to the stage-coach for the mission station at Mesilla, which was reached at eleven o'clock at night. A ride of twenty miles across the desert in a private conveyance through the land of the treacherous Apaches, brought the party to the terminus of the Southern Pacific, where a construction train was again taken for Deming, the limit, at that time, of the passenger division of the line. Referring to this ride across the desert, Dr. Jackson says: "We did not anticipate danger, as the noted chief Victoria had been so recently killed and the power of his band was supposed to be broken. It was a false security, however, as the next week they captured the stage, killed and mutilated the driver and passengers, and during the next two weeks massacred from twenty-five to thirty persons. However, the good hand of our God was with us and we escaped."

At Deming, Dr. Jackson learned that the train on which he expected to continue the journey had left about six hours before their arrival. At this point it was impossible to secure food or lodging, and the only alternative was to continue the journey in an emigrant car attached to the construction train. The day wore away without the opportunity to take dinner or supper. At midnight a transfer was made to a more comfortable car, in which the journey was continued until the party arrived at Tucson at four o'clock the next day. On the day following, the agency of the Pima and Maricopa Indians was reached and arrangements were made for the specified number of children from this station. During his stay at this agency, Sheldon Jackson again met Mr. Charles H. Cook, who kept store during the week and preached to the Indians on the Sabbath, and urged him to resign his clerkship and give his whole time to religious work ; and also to study at home for the ministry. To enable him to do this, Dr. Jackson provided the necessary textbooks and supervised his studies by mail. He finally arranged for his examination and ordination by the Presbytery of Los Angeles. Los Angeles, although 411 miles distant, was the nearest presbytery to Mr. Cook. At Wilcox station he took the stage-coach for the San Carlos Apache Agency, one hundred and twenty miles distant. The return journey, *via* Glebe, which was about fifty miles out of the way, was found to be "the roughest and most dangerous ride on the whole trip. In some places the hills were so steep that the passengers were warned to get out, and when the wheels were chained the horses were put to the gallop to prevent the coach from running over them." On the return journey from the places of rendezvous for the children several attempts were made by parents or suspicious chiefs of the tribes to prevent one or another from going, and great wisdom and tact

were necessary to keep those who had been secured until they were out of reach of their would-be deliverers. As far as the young people themselves were concerned, no difficulty was experienced and no distrust was manifested. When the party were about to take the midnight train at Tucson for the long journey to the States, a telegram was shown the leader which conveyed the startling intelligence that a hostile band of Apaches were on the war-path murdering and pillaging along the line of the route they were expecting to take. In view of this imminent danger, it was thought best to remain over a day to telegraph for a military escort. At the end of this time, no message had been received, and it was decided to continue the journey. Through the kindness of the assistant superintendent of the road, a special car was furnished, which was locked up to prevent intrusion from Indian visitors. At midnight the car was attached to the regular train. At Deming, it was found that all travel had been suspended on account of the Indian raids. The stage-coaches were not running, and the freighters were laid up at the terminal or way stations. For two days previous, Dr. Jackson had been telegraphing to the Rev. Mr. Thompson, the missionary at Mesilla, for teams to convey his party across the country, and at Deming a message was received that they were awaiting them at the end of the track, some sixty miles distant. With this assurance, the car was attached to a construction train and at midnight they reached the terminal station and were warmly welcomed by Mr. Thompson who had accompanied the teams to render any assistance within his power. The most dangerous part of the journey was still before them and the children were aroused from their slumbers, transferred to the wagons, and an immediate start was made in order to get as far on the way as possible before daylight. There were three wagons and

three armed horsemen in this hastily-gathered equipment, and the teams were pushed along as fast as possible. Small bands of hostile Indians were known to be all around them, but they were not attacked and reached the terminal of the New Mexican road in safety. "Two days before," says Dr. Jackson, "three herdsmen and two miners had been killed near the road at Chloride Gulch. On the day previous, two men were killed on the Upper Chrichillis, and, as we afterwards learned, at the same time we were on the road, a man, his wife, child and mother-in-law were massacred at Carisco. On the following day, five men were killed west of San Marchial, and, a day later, the buckboard stage was captured and the driver killed."

These massacres had so stirred the Mexican communities that in every town excitement was at fever heat and lawless bands were breathing out threatenings and slaughter against all Indians and their sympathizers among the white element of the territory. In the face of this new peril, great caution was necessary to avoid a collision in the towns through which they were obliged to pass, and as far as possible the Indians were kept in the background. At one point an attempt to waylay and massacre the whole party was frustrated by Mr. Thompson, who had received information of the conspiracy beforehand. This veteran missionary, who did faithful service at one of the most difficult and dangerous posts at that time on the frontier, has given a brief sketch of that memorable journey, which should have a place in this record.

"During the first part of my term of service in New Mexico," he writes, "Dr. Jackson was general missionary of this vast region of country, and his work of organizing schools and churches among this people was no easy task. To try to reach the Indians, especially, brought a protest at once from the

Americans and Mexicans, for the Indians were hated and sought for only to be killed. When, therefore, the plan of the government to take Apache and other Indian children north and educate them, became known at Mesilla and Las Cruces it created great excitement, and it was openly counselled on the streets that Dr. Jackson and all his party of Indian children should be killed. The feeling ran so high that plans were laid to waylay and shoot them, as they drove through a lonely ravine on their way across the country between railways, and lay the blame on the Apaches. Learning of the danger, I accompanied the wagons to the end of the track and there waited the arrival of Dr. Jackson and party. They arrived on the construction train at the end of the track about midnight. Soon after the children were hurried into the waiting wagons and we were off. Leaving the natural route of travel, a detour was made, thus avoiding the party lying in ambush, and, by forced driving, Mesilla was reached about noon. On the evening of the second day the party was safe in a camp of United States soldiers who had been notified by telegraph from Washington to protect them. Those days and nights were times of great anxiety to me. The Apaches were out on the war-path, the old stage driver was shot shortly afterwards, and there never was a day during this excitement that I did not watch carefully the movements of those who were constantly threatening to kill the Indians and all their sympathizers. I have often wondered if those young men and girls, who were awakened at night in the train, rushed into the wagons and driven with so much speed along the Rio Grande, understood why we wanted to reach Mesilla so quickly. My sympathies are with the poor Indians, and I think we as a church should send more teachers into those dark sections of our land. The work done by Dr. Jackson and the material he worked with has never been fully appreciated. I have not forgotten the trying time through which he has passed, and I rejoice in knowing that the Lord has spared him to see some of the darkness disappearing among the Mexicans, and a new era of gospel power prevailing."

At Marcial, the southern terminus of the Atchison and Santa Fé road, which was reached by Dr. Jackson's party about 10 P. M., a greater peril than any of the preceding days awaited them. "The whole village," says Dr. Jack-

son, "was panic-stricken with fear of the Indians, as on the two previous days nine persons had been murdered a few miles distant. Then, to make the danger more vivid, that afternoon the mutilated bodies of four persons had been brought to the Mexican village, a short distance away, where an infuriated mob of between two and three hundred were assembled to view the remains of their friends. Their loud wails of grief were mingled with mad cries of vengeance upon the Indians. Had the presence of these sixteen unarmed Indian children been known to them, the mob would have torn us limb from limb, for an Indian cannot be more cruel than an infuriated Mexican. Arriving at the depot, our party kept their seats until the train was emptied and backed down to the yard. Ominous warnings were given by the railroad men that if the Mexicans found out we were there, our lives would be worthless. Once in the yard, we were quietly and quickly transferred to a special car. The shades were pulled down and the lights put out. For three hours—it seemed an age—we sat in darkness facing death, liable at any moment to hear the cry of the frenzied mob. The children were unaware of their danger, and slept, while my wife and I watched and rested on the promises. It was not simply the lives of the party at stake, important as they were to us, but the education and evangelization of the tribes represented by these children were at stake. Everything had been done that could be done to secure the safety of the party, and now we were shut up to simply waiting and trusting. At length there was a whistle, a puff of the engine, a jerk, and, to our great relief, we were under way. In the morning, we were in Albuquerque, and the long strain of six days and nights of great anxiety was over. At Albuquerque, Mr. Conklin had gathered for us ten Pueblo children, five boys and five girls. The entire party of twenty-six Indian children we

at length turned over to the Carlisle and Hampton training schools."

A telling instance of the result of a brief period of Christian instruction, in the case of one of the Papago Indian girls of this party, was given by Francesco Rios, several years ago, in the *Southern Workman* :—

One winter morning, nearly three years ago, Dr. Sheldon Jackson brought a party of Arizona Indians to Hampton. Most of them were strange, wild-looking men ; three were funny little Pima boys, with great black felt slouched hats, and very ragged clothes. Two little girls finished up the procession. One of them, Melisse, a regular Topsy, with dishevelled hair and queer, wild ways ; the other, Francesca, a quiet, sweet-faced child, who looked up from under her shawl with shy, trustful glances, which won our hearts right away.

She hardly looked like a girl who could brave the public opinion of her tribe and resist the threats and persuasions of her friends to follow the ray of light that glimmered before her.

The little girl, fairly established in school, set herself diligently to improve. In a marvellously short time she began to talk pretty broken English. Two of the older girls took her to room with them, and helped to teach her. They were discouraged sometimes, but I think when they think of her now, they must feel they have a rich reward.

After Francesca had been at school a few months, reports of her mother's death were brought to her. It was some time before they were verified. When at last the little girl had to believe them, her grief was very sharp, but she bore the pain with the same patience and courage she had shown before.

When we moved to Winona Lodge no one was readier than Francesca to do her share in the work, or more conscientious about accomplishing it.

But towards the spring the little girl grew weak. She didn't care to go to school, and she couldn't play.

She stood in the hall and bade us good-bye as the Berkshire girls started off in June for the summer.

We didn't know she was going so soon on a longer journey from which she would never return. . . . "I know I am going to die," she said bravely one day. "I should like to live and tell my father about God." She knew General Arm-

strong was going to her home. When she bade him good-bye she wanted him to see the old church, and to bring her some of the Indian fruits. In the early morning twilight of the day she died she called the teacher who watched her and said, "My mother came to see me last night. She glad to have me here." "I think she will take you to be with her soon." "I know," said the little girl, "but I should like her to stay here a little while and learn." Only a few hours after she reached the brink of the cold river. With her sweet old courage she set her face forward, and we think she saw one waiting to carry her across, as she cried with infinite tenderness and gladness—"Jesus! Jesus!"

And the teacher beside her, whose hair was white with years of service and sorrow and trust, called to the child—"Yes, blessed Jesus, sweet Jesus!"

Was she already in the arms of Everlasting Tenderness and Strength, that with a voice and look of such measureless peace, she echoed the words—"Sweet, sweet Jesus!"

With much less difficulty and danger other parties of Indian children were afterwards secured by Dr. Jackson for these far-away Eastern schools, as well as for those established by government aid within the limits of his mission field.

Thus while acting as the field agent of a Board, organized solely for work among the English-speaking population of the country, Sheldon Jackson became, by force of circumstances and Providential overrulings, the superintendent of the mission schools and churches of most of the aboriginal tribes, outside of the Indian Territory, as well as of the missions established among the Spanish-speaking people of the country.

The Rev. Charles H. Cook, D. D., who has laboured for more than three decades among the Pima Indians in Arizona, bears this testimony to his efficiency and success in the beginning and early development of this work:—

"It was about thirty years ago," he writes, "when we first had the privilege of meeting Dr. Jackson. In visiting his great parish,—Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona,—he called on us at Sacaton, Arizona. The good brother was not only anxious to have the Gospel preached to the whites, but he also felt a deep interest in the welfare of our Indians. Arizona at that time, I believe, had one Protestant church at Prescott,¹ and one day-school among the Pima Indians. The Indian population numbered over 40,000, but up to that time no church of our great country had sent a missionary to any of the tribes of Arizona. During the winter of 1880-1881, when the Southern Pacific was being built through Arizona, Dr. Jackson paid us a second visit. He had concluded that as no other denomination would establish a mission among the Pimas, that the Presbyterian Church must do so. This he accomplished, and the Pimas now have seven churches and a Presbyterian membership of some 1,340. At present, most of the Arizona Indians are supplied with churches and schools. Among the chief magistrates of our great Republic, General Grant, Hayes and Harrison took a special interest in the welfare of our Indians. Among the ministers of the Gospel perhaps no one has taken a greater interest or worked harder to bring the Christian civilization we enjoy to our Indians than Dr. Sheldon Jackson. Instead of filling the pulpit of one of our great Eastern churches, the good brother considered it his duty to condescend to men of low estate, that he might bring the light of the Gospel of Christ to the dark places of our country, where it was most needed. May he long be spared to continue in his great work." ²

During the decade of faithful, laborious service which Dr. Jackson gave to New Mexico and Arizona, the work among the Spanish-speaking people was necessarily slow. It began with the mission school and the training of native teachers and preachers and it encountered much opposition, open and secret. Its progress, however, since "the day of small things" has been rapid and continu-

¹ There was no Protestant church at Prescott at that time.

² Annual Report, General Assembly, 1906.

ous. The Synod of New Mexico, which now covers the immense field once held in faith and hope by the Presbytery of Santa Fé, reported to the Assembly of 1908 five presbyteries, which have under their care ninety-one churches. The working force of the synod consists of sixty-nine ministers, five licentiates, sixteen local evangelists, seven Indian helpers and eighty-seven missionary teachers. It also reported eight candidates for the ministry.

While the present needs of this typical mission field are still great and pressing the results are most encouraging. The splendid work done by the mission schools is recognized by all who come in contact with them and the missionary is now welcomed to every community in which they have been established. A few years ago the Pima Indians only were named in the work of the synod. "Now Pimas, Papagoes, Maricopas, Mojaves, and Navajos are being preached by eight ministers and thirteen helpers, and tidings come of many who are inquiring the way of life." Thus has the promise been verified that they who "sow in tears shall reap in joy."

XII

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WOMAN'S BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS

“Over the ages comes down to us
A sweet old message that readeth thus : —
‘Help those women who laboured with me’ !
And, methinks, could St. Paul look down and see
The gleaners who follow the reaping band,
Where the fields lie whitening in every land,
He would call from heaven’s third height of glory
‘Help those women.’ ”—*Anon.*

FROM the days of the Apostles the value of woman’s work, in ways distinctively womanly, in the missionary and evangelistic activities of the Church, has been recognized and encouraged. The faithful women who laboured with St. Paul in the Gospel, whose names have been inscribed by him on an imperishable roll of honour, have been followed by a long line of like-minded labourers,—more numerous to-day than ever before,—in every active and aggressive period in the history of the Church.

The hearty coöperation of the women of the Presbyterian Church in the home field antedates the origin of the Home Board itself ; and, for a century or more, they have ministered through organized bands to the necessities of the missionaries on the frontier. This was the “controlling purpose” which held together the Women’s Sewing Societies of the olden time. As one has happily expressed it :—



WOMAN'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS.

(For names see Appendix, page 481. Group 6.)

They combined to give where they could, and to *labour* where they could not give, to lighten the burdens and brighten the homes of these devoted ones battling for the Lord on the rugged frontier. As the cool mountain springs are to the majestic Hudson, so *these time-honoured sewing societies*, are to the noble, organized woman's work of to-day! They were the far-off sources from which all this glorious work for women sprang. They pursued the even tenor of their way through many changes in Church and State, in spite of indifference and ridicule, all the while keeping the welfare of the missionary at heart with perennial devotion. They were the nurseries, for the idea that woman's work was needed to supplement man's work in the outward, aggressive activities of the Church, and, if first for domestic missions, then, naturally enough, next for foreign missions.¹

The great central agency, now known as the Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, so wonderful in its present developments and so far-reaching in its influences, is the outcome of a movement which, at the first, was not only slow of growth, but was singularly misunderstood and bitterly opposed. It grew out of repeated appeals from missionaries and laymen on the frontier who were brought face to face with conditions which existed among the unreached masses of the native populations in the Rocky Mountain territories. Within the limits of the great missionary field which was provisionally committed to Sheldon Jackson's care, in the spring of 1869, the problem of reaching these unevangelized masses was confronted, and its solution attempted in what seemed to be at the time the only practical way. Here in close relations with a mixed multitude of the representatives of all lands were concentrated all of the Mormon, nearly all of the Mexican, and about one-third of the Indian population of the country.

¹Historical sketch of the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions, by Mrs. S. F. Scovel, of Pittsburg, Pa., May 23, 1879.

To reach these lapsed, pagan and semi-pagan masses, which dominated the sections in which they were located, by the ordinary modes of approach, under the rules and conditions originally framed for the Home Board, was impossible. Its charter limited its sphere of influence to the preaching of the Gospel, presumably among English-speaking people, and its founders had never anticipated a situation such as confronted our pioneer missionaries in the early seventies, when they were brought into close contact with the dominating influences of degrading superstitions and unmitigated heathenism, within the limits of their newly-formed presbyteries and synods. It was equally impossible to reach these "exceptional classes," as they were then termed, effectively under the provisions and modes of operation of the Foreign Board. Its resources were inadequate for such a work, and its field was so wide that its gauge was necessarily fixed at about one missionary for every three million of the world's population. As a matter of fact, this Board could not see its way clear to support continuously during this decade a single missionary to the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountain territories, nor could it do anything for the degraded Mormon element of Utah, which so sadly needed the uplifting influences of the Gospel of Christ.

In view of these difficulties and limitations, Dr. Jackson was convinced from the first that a new agency must be employed to meet this emergency and prepare the way for the preaching of the Gospel. This agency, which had been so successfully employed in foreign lands, was the Christian school. It was a natural, and certainly a legitimate, conclusion that, inasmuch as the mission school was a necessary adjunct to the work conducted by the Foreign Board in the Indian Territory, it was just as necessary to success in work conducted by the Home Board among the Indians of Colorado or Arizona. If it were a necessary

agency to reach those who did not welcome the Gospel, and for the most part were hostile to it, in the Republic of Mexico, it was quite as necessary among the bigoted opposers of the Gospel in Utah and New Mexico. It was also a natural and legitimate conclusion that it was just as necessary and seemly that the Christian women of our land should join in a systematic effort to bring the deliverance of the Gospel to the degraded and deluded women and children of Utah and Alaska and the Southwestern territories, as to the degraded and deluded women and children of India and China.

While, for the reasons already given, the Home Board was not at liberty to use its funds for the establishment of mission schools, there was apparently no alternative but to seek the voluntary help and coöperation of the women of the church,—whose hearts the Lord had touched,—in the inauguration and development of this important auxiliary work. A hint as to its practical value, and also as to its mode of operation, had been already given within the limits of Dr. Jackson's field, by a little band of devoted women, representing different denominations in the state of New York, who had formed a Union Missionary Society for the purpose of establishing schools in New Mexico and Arizona. The first impulse to this movement came from the appeals of an earnest Christian lady¹ who had accompanied her husband, an officer of the army, to his military post in New Mexico. While there her heart was stirred within her as she realized that this goodly heritage of the nation, which for many years had been under the protection of its flag, was practically throughout its vast extent without the influences of the Gospel, and almost wholly given over to the influences of a corrupt form of Christianity, but little better than heathenism. The letters which she wrote with respect to

¹ Mrs. A. J. Alexander.

this spiritual destitution to her mother, Mrs. E. T. Throop Martin, of Auburn, New York, were read, or sent, to some of her relatives and personal friends. Moved by these representations, a little circle of workers was formed, under the leadership of Mrs. Martin, with a view to supporting a missionary teacher in the city of Santa Fé. This informal organization was effected in the summer of 1867. It was known as the Santa Fé Association, and its first undertaking was the establishment of a mission school in that old historic centre of government and influence. Through the active coöperation of Mrs. Julia M. Graham, a warm personal friend of Mrs. Martin, a similar association on a larger scale was organized in the month of March, 1868, at the Bible House in New York City, which was called "The New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado Missionary Association."

To this larger and more influential organization the Auburn Society became auxiliary, and Mrs. Graham was made its first president.

This association in its first year "paid the salary of a Bible reader and teacher in Santa Fé, assisted in defraying the expenses of a missionary in Arizona, another in Colorado; aroused interest in behalf of the Pima and Navajo Indians; sent out Bibles, tracts, and three communion services. In all, \$1,203.50 were raised. In the following year, money was raised for the purchase of a valuable property at Santa Fé, upon which were buildings used as church, parsonage, and schoolhouse. Then followed the establishment of a mission at Las Vegas, the purchase of buildings there, and the erection of a church."¹

In the preceding chapter mention was made of the Ladies' Union Missionary School Association, located at Albany, N. Y., which undertook the support of the

¹ First annual report of the New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado Missionary Association.

school at the pueblo of Laguna for the first three years of its existence. This association was organized as a branch of the New York Society, on a stormy day in the month of March, 1871. In the following year, it was incorporated, so as to hold land for mission purposes. It proved to be a valuable auxiliary to Dr. Jackson's work in a time of need, but, like the parent society, which was also helpful at several points, according to its ability, it distributed its work among the locations where the need seemed to be greatest, irrespective of denominational influence or control.

It is worthy of note in this connection that the founders of this Union Missionary Society and its several auxiliaries, were the first to respond to the call for organized work in the support of missionary teachers and evangelists on our western frontier, with a view to supplementing the work of the churches. In some cases, also, they were privileged to prepare the way for the tardy advance of the missionary. They were the first to break with the tradition, so long held by many in the churches, that woman's work in the home field was limited to the preparation of missionary boxes or the securing of funds to supplement the deficiencies or reductions of the missionaries' salaries. The call which they heard was recognized as the call of God, and in responding to it by direct efforts to save the lost and uplift the degraded of their own sex in the benighted regions of our new possessions, they became the advance guard of a mighty and ever-increasing host of ministering women, whose field extends now over a vast continent and whose influence is felt for good in every quarter of the land.

In the spring of 1870, when organizations auxiliary to the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions, located at Philadelphia, were being formed all over the country, the Presbyterian contingent of the New York Society, which

seemed to have a controlling influence in its deliberations, decided to sever its connection with the Union movement "in order to organize a new denominational society which should combine foreign missions with the home work, which had been the impulse of the first movement." After this organization, to which was given the name of "The Ladies' Board of Missions," was formed, the Union Society was reconstructed and continued its work along the lines which it had followed in the past.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Graham, the Ladies' Board of Missions made itself auxiliary to the Home and Foreign Boards and sought the coöperation of auxiliary societies for both branches of the work. At the close of its first year, it reported forty-seven auxiliaries, and receipts in money amounting to \$7,647.06. From this date it contributed to both departments of the mission work, but the larger part of its funds were given to the new developments and advanced movements of the united Church in the foreign field. The sphere of its operations in the home field was mainly in the territories committed to Dr. Jackson's care, and his advice and coöperation were sought in connection with the points which the officers of this Board decided to supply. On the 8th of July, 1872, Mrs. Graham, president of the Ladies' Board, wrote :—

Your Rocky Mountain paper reaches me regularly, and I read with much interest the great work that is doing in the formation of presbyteries, organizing new churches, etc. I wish I could say that we could send you help, but our Board is as yet but a little thing, although I hope its usefulness may increase in the course of time.

At a later period—January 1, 1873—she wrote :—

We shall always look to you to suggest objects of work and interest. If we can do them, of course we will. Whenever

you can give us some of your jottings of travel, I shall be thankful and try to make the best use of them.

A practical difficulty in connection with a proportionate distribution of funds between the two agencies of the Church is suggested in another letter under date of January 5, 1874 :—

Dear Mr. Jackson :—I send you one of our annual reports and hope that you will have a notice of it in your paper. Dr. Dickson thought we had not done much for the home work, but our report shows the contrary. At all events, we have done all we could. It is perhaps unfortunate for us that we did not turn our attention exclusively to foreign missions. If we had done so, we should have had much larger receipts to show. Now when we have lost so much by our adhesion to the home work, that Board don't give us any credit for it.

From this and other indications it was evident to Dr. Jackson that no adequate support could be secured for the great work which was looming up before him in connection with the evangelization of the unreached masses of the "exceptional populations" of the country, except through a central organization which had but one aim and which could appeal directly to the churches on its own merits and in its own behalf.

From abundant evidence in hand, it is clear that he was the proposer and first advocate of concerted action among the women of the Presbyterian Church to accomplish this end. In this he stood almost alone at the first, and it is safe to say that in no other undertaking in which he was engaged was he subject to so much misapprehension, reproach, and determined opposition. From the beginning of the year 1870, he published earnest, pathetic appeals, addressed to Christian women in behalf of the many thousands of benighted women and ignorant children, within the limits of our territorial possessions and

of our presbyteries and synods, who were living without the knowledge of God, and were as utterly neglected as the perishing multitudes in far-away heathen lands. In 1872, he commenced the publication of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, which was made the special advocate of this feature of woman's work. In its advocacy at this time, however, much wisdom and no little tact were required with respect to the manner of its presentation. There was a deep-seated and widely prevalent prejudice in the minds of many against the so-called "exceptional classes" in the territories; and where this did not exist there was a tendency to regard their condition with indifference, or to depreciate any efforts which were being made to better their condition or transform their lives. Recognizing the fact that there was less of this scepticism, as to results, in the minds and hearts of the Christian ladies whom he addressed, and, where it did exist, was more easily overcome, he made his appeal for help first, and mainly to them.

His good judgment was apparent, also, in leaving the school work in the background until its need was felt and its place assured, through the natural and unforced developments of the work of the missionaries on the field. Hence, in the first years of this advocacy, emphasis was laid mainly upon the building of chapels, the raising of funds to supplement the salaries of missionaries, where the expenses were excessive or where the development of new work at points of special interest among the Mormons, Mexicans, or Indians called for special funds which the Board was unable to supply. Meanwhile, he gladly availed himself of aid furnished by the Ladies' Union Missionary Associations or by individual contributors who were moved to respond to his appeals.

In 1873, the Presbyteries of Colorado and Wyoming,—Utah being included in the latter—endorsed the recom-

mendation of Dr. Jackson that the churches within their bounds be authorized and encouraged to form distinct societies in the interests of this phase of the home mission work. In the same year, he prepared and published a blank constitution for the use of congregations desiring to avail themselves of this recommendation, which became the basis of similar organizations, in after years, all over the country. The Seventeenth Street Church of Denver, with which the Jackson family was connected, was one of the first churches in the Presbytery of Colorado to take action in accordance with this recommendation, and Mrs. Jackson was made the president of the society thus constituted.

At this time, strange as it may seem, in the light of present conditions, every suggestion that the sphere of woman's work in the home field should be enlarged, so as to include the establishment of mission schools or the raising of funds except for the purpose of supplementing the salary of missionary labourers on the frontier, was met with disfavour or open opposition. In the strong Presbyterian cities of Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and Allegheny, where arrangements had been made for Dr. Jackson to address the women in behalf of the cause he represented, the pastors of the churches were waited upon by a committee of ladies and entreated not to announce the proposed meetings from the pulpit. This opposition on the part of the women, representing the Foreign Board, was aroused by appeals industriously circulated through the religious press and other channels, by some notable leaders in the activities of the Church, who claimed, and no doubt honestly believed, that the policy advocated by Sheldon Jackson would seriously interfere with the recently established work for women in foreign lands. Another hindrance to its advocacy, at this time, was the attitude of the officials of the Home Board, who could not

see their way clear to authorize or commend it. After a careful study of the situation, from the standpoint of the missionaries on the frontier, the senior secretary, the Rev. Henry Kendall, D. D., who at first was not favourably disposed, eventually gave to it his hearty and unqualified support. From this time onward, he was closely allied with Dr. Jackson in a long continued and persistent effort to gain for this cause the approval and sanction of the highest judicatories of the Church. At the Assemblies of 1875, 1876, and 1877, Drs. Kendall and Jackson conducted popular meetings in behalf of this movement, and pressed its claims upon the Home Mission Committees of the several assemblies. Meetings of a similar character were afterwards continued by the Woman's Executive Committee. As the result of their united labours, the general assemblies of 1872 and 1873 recommended that the women of the Church should attest their interest in this department of work by generous contributions in *money*, as well as in the preparation of "boxes of clothing," for the missionaries and their families.

The Assembly of 1874 reiterated this recommendation and designated the months of October and November in which special attention should be given to the raising of money in the several societies or churches, for the Home Board. In this connection the Board was directed to appoint suitable women in the different sections of the country to bring the matter to the attention of the churches and societies in their respective districts.

In the Assembly of 1875, there was a marked advance over all previous deliverances. After careful consideration of the subject in all its bearings, this assembly authorized the formation of a distinct Woman's Home Missionary Association under the advice and control of the Board of Home Missions. This unequivocal action cleared the way for the formation of auxiliaries through-

out the Church, and several presbyteries and synods promptly recommended the organization of such societies.

The Assembly of 1876 gave additional emphasis to the movement, which was now assuming much greater importance, and was commanding attention in every part of the land, by authorizing the synods to appoint committees of women within their bounds to coöperate with the Board in the prosecution of the work. Following this action, committees were appointed at the autumn meetings ensuing by seven synods of the Church, *viz.*; the Synods of Albany, Cincinnati, Colorado, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Pittsburg. "With the increase of woman's societies," says a writer in the "Presbyterian Encyclopedia," "the school work began to assume such proportions that it had to be reckoned with. Consequently, the Assembly of 1877, recognizing the fact of its existence, formally authorized the Board to assume the charge of it and enlarge it as rapidly as the woman's societies provided the funds."

In bringing this matter to a successful issue, able assistance and hearty support were given by Dr. Kendall's veteran assistant, Dr. Dickson; Timothy Hill, representing the aborigines of the Indian Territory; Thomas Frazer, representing the "exceptional population" of the Pacific coast; as well as by the entire force of missionaries at the front, who were face to face with the problem of evangelizing the masses of the alien semi-pagan residents of their respective fields. It is conceded by all who took part in this movement, however, that it was the continuous, persistent, and united labours of its prime movers, Drs. Kendall and Jackson, during the sessions of these assemblies which aroused the enthusiasm of the commissioners and concentrated their attention upon the most important points connected with this new development of mission work.

This successful combination of effort was facetiously set forth by Dr. Gray, of *The Interior*, who at that time was not friendly to the movement, after the manner of the Westminster method of instruction: *Question*: "Wherein does the Board of Home Missions principally consist?" *Answer*: "The Board of Home Missions principally consists of Dr. Kendall of New York and Dr. Jackson, the flying horseman of the Rockies."

To the seven synodical committees, above mentioned, seven more were added by the spring of 1877, but as yet the movement had not culminated in a national organization. This was owing partly to the fact that many of the leading workers in the various associations which had been formed, or were forming, had the impression that it would be better to work through such organizations as the "Ladies' Board of New York," which already had great influence, and worked in the interests of both Boards. Another cause of delay or hesitancy, was the strenuous objection made by the leading representatives of the Foreign Board in New York and the Woman's Foreign Mission Board in Philadelphia, to the erection of another distinct association for mission work.

Through all the phases and developments of the movement, Sheldon Jackson held persistently and consistently to the view that the best results could only be secured for the home work by the creation of a distinct central society. His experience in the field had convinced him that the work to be done was of such a character that it must stand upon its own foundation and make its appeal on its own merits: and in proportion to its relative importance and urgent necessities. It was evident to him, also, that no just proportion could be assigned to either department of the work through the agency of a Union Society, without the danger of precipitating a conflict of opinion, if not of antagonistic interests.

In the Home Board itself, there was no settled opinion or outline of definite policy in reference to the best modes of procedure, prior to the middle of the decade in which this phase of the work originated. On the 17th of June, 1875, Dr. Kendall wrote :

“DEAR BROTHER JACKSON :—

“We have yours on woman's work. I think we shall lay the matter before the Board next week and ask for a committee of five to take the matter into consideration as to ‘ways and means.’ My mind starts the following queries : Give me your thoughts on the subject. 1. Shall we try to bring the New York Society to become wholly home mission? 2. Failing in that, shall we adopt or recommend it as it is? Or 3. Shall we organize another society with headquarters here? Would not that bring us into collision with Mrs. Graham's or the Foreign Missionary Society and its auxiliaries? Or 4. Shall we dispense with a great central organization such as Mrs. Graham's or the Foreign Missionary Society at Philadelphia, and work only presbyterially and synodically beyond the individual church? I should like your views about it. If this committee advise a vigorous movement I shall recommend that you come East, about the time the fall meetings are held, and work as far as possible through them ; then through the synods, and then in the cities and large towns, until the beginning of January, perhaps longer.”

These queries indicate very plainly the difficulties connected with the introduction of this new agency, so as to take up the work efficiently, and at the same time avoid unnecessary friction with the recognized agencies, united or separate, already at work.

With a view to pushing the interests of this outgrowth of the work more vigorously, Dr. Kendall, under date of August 30, 1875, wrote :—

DEAR BROTHER JACKSON :—

We want you to come East and make a campaign, first among the synods and then in the cities, and, in working the matter up, we would like you to visit as many of the Eastern synods as possible, and if it comes convenient to be at New York, New Jersey, Albany, Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, or Pittsburg, Central and Western New York: all or as many as possible and as far East as possible, other things being equal, for here is the money. After the synod we must move among the masses, stirring up the women in city and country in this great work. If we cannot organize as we would, we must work as we did last year, only more extensively and vigorously. We wish you to confine yourself before the synods to the woman's work and the Sabbath-school work, and leave the general missionary appeals to others or to themselves. But press home on them this one feature—women's and children's work for women and children on home mission fields.

The instructions contained in this letter were carried out at the time designated, and "the campaign" so carefully outlined had much to do with the shaping of events in the after development of the work. Meanwhile, the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* kept before the Church and its ministry the needy condition of the fields for which this provision was being made, and the necessity for prompt action on their behalf.

On the 26th of January, 1876, a plan for the coöperation of the women's societies with the Board was adopted and published. Up to this date, however, the question of "school work" had not been officially considered. In several instances the missionaries in the field had established schools under the direction of the superintendent, where funds had been provided by independent societies or individuals, but the Board did not assume the authority to plant them or to formally accept the charge of them. In the autumn of this year, a gift of \$500 was placed in the hands of the treasurer, for the employment

of teachers in Utah, under the supervision of the missionaries. In connection with its acceptance, the following action was taken :—

“ *Resolved*,—That the secretaries be authorized to expend the amount thus contributed, for the purpose indicated, without further commitment of this Board.” This cautious deliverance blazed the way for the consideration and hearty approval of educational work on the home field by the Assembly of 1877, “ *as rapidly as the women's societies should provide the funds.*” In December of the same year, the school work among the exceptional populations was formally undertaken by the Home Board and the first teachers, sixteen in number, were commissioned.

In January, 1878, by previous arrangement, Dr. Jackson addressed a series of conferences and public meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in the interests of the work. At this stage of its development, the opposition to the movement which had been slowly gathering force in some quarters was manifested in open antagonism towards those who advocated or encouraged it.

In these addresses it was shown with convincing force that the condition of the pagan and lapsed masses in Alaska, Utah, and the Southwestern territories, living under the flag and recognized as the wards of the nation, called for *special* effort which could not be compared with or measured by the standards of the foreign field. As an evidence of the inability of the Foreign Board to meet this emergency, the facts were cited that within the limits of the great field covered by the Synod of Colorado, which contained the largest number of the exceptional population of the country, there was not *then*, and had not been for years, a single missionary commissioned by this Board : and also that the Indian tribes within its borders, which had been given over to the care of the Presbyterian

Church, under the administration of President Grant, had been neglected and left without a teacher or preacher, so far as this Board was concerned, for a period of over six or seven years. Furthermore, it was made plain, that the object of the movement, for which an impartial hearing was demanded, was not to divide, but rather to increase the activity and efficiency, of the women of the Church, a mere tithe of whom were at the time enlisted for aggressive mission work.

Nothing daunted by the opposition which met him at every turn, in these trying days, Sheldon Jackson supplemented his addresses by personal letters to influential women in all parts of the land, with special reference to the formation of a central organization for the unification of the work so auspiciously begun. With a view to bringing this matter to a decision, he urged the officers of the Synodical Home Mission Societies to call a general convention for the formation of a central organization for the whole Church. This they hesitated to do, because of the impression which generally prevailed, that the Board of Home Missions was the proper authority to issue the call. He then applied to the secretaries of the Board to arrange for such a meeting, but the members of the Board were divided in opinion as to the expediency of taking such action, and the secretaries in view of this fact were unwilling to take the responsibility. Despairing of securing action from the constituted authorities of the Church, Dr. Jackson issued the call on his own responsibility and made arrangements for a convention of women to meet at Pittsburg, Pa., on the 24th of May, 1878, to consider the desirability of effecting the organization of a National Home Mission Society for the women of the Presbyterian Church. Having called the meeting he carried on a vigorous correspondence with prominent women in the several synods asking their coöperation in securing a full

representation and a satisfactory issue in keeping with the importance of the occasion.

The convention was held at the appointed time in the First Presbyterian Church. Mrs. W. A. Herron, of Pittsburgh, was called to the chair and Mrs. Wilson N. Paxton was made the secretary of the meeting. The following extract from a letter of recent date written by Mrs. Paxton to Dr. Jackson gives some interesting facts belonging to the inner history of this movement.

I well remember the almost universal opposition you met with between 1870 and 1878 in your efforts to interest the women in a home mission organization.

I believe I was the first one to write you to come to Pittsburgh and Allegheny and address our ladies on woman's work in home missions. After I had made all the arrangements for the meeting, and sent to the Presbyterian pastors of those cities notices to be read from their pulpits on the Sabbath preceding the meeting, a committee of Presbyterian women visited the several pastors and plead with them not to make the announcement, claiming that the meeting would injure the woman's foreign mission work. There was much feeling over the meeting. While waiting for the audience to gather, you related to me the opposition that you had met shortly before from the foreign mission women in Philadelphia, and that you had only succeeded in having a meeting in that city through the determined stand of Mrs. Matthew Newkirk, Sr., who secured a hall and made all the arrangements for the meeting. And thus you said "we must stand by you and back you up in Pittsburgh." Upon that occasion you won many ladies to favour a woman's home mission organization. That feeling of apprehension, that a woman's organization for home missions would interfere with women's foreign mission work, has now happily passed away in the great success of both societies.

I further remember, that, when failing to prevail upon any of the Women's Synodical Societies of Home Missions, either singly or collectively, to issue a call for a general meeting to form a national organization of Presbyterian women for home missions, you issued such a call yourself and wrote to a number of the most prominent women in the several synods for their

coöperation and for permission to use their names as vice-presidents of the proposed organization, and that you asked my permission to have the replies of said women sent to me at Allegheny, as a more central location than your home at Denver for gathering the replies, inasmuch as the convention was called to meet at Pittsburg.

But for your persistent, tireless, and wisely-directed efforts, through the press and in public addresses in all the large and many of the smaller cities and villages of the north, to arouse the women of the Presbyterian Church to organized work for home missions and to create a public sentiment favourable to such an organization, I feel sure that the formation of "The Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions" would have been delayed many years.

Those of us, who were most intimately associated with you in church work in those days, know that you, more than any other, were the one whom God used for the organization of "The Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions," and I earnestly hope you will be spared to write the inner history of how it was accomplished.

At the business meeting of the convention, a proposal to form a Board, similar in some respects to the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions, to be located in New York City, was presented and explained. As the number of representatives present was relatively small, and the sentiment divided as to the best method of procedure, it was suggested, as preliminary to further action, that a committee of twelve ladies should be appointed to confer with the Ladies' Board of Missions in New York as to the propriety of having this organization devoted exclusively to the work of home missions, so that it might become the official organ of the Woman's Home Mission Society of the Presbyterian Church.

This proposal met with favour and was at once adopted. Mrs. S. F. Scovel of Pittsburg was made chairman, and Mrs. O. E. Boyd of Elizabeth, N. J., secretary of the committee.

The conference, as previously arranged, was held in New York City, July 11th, the committee having spent the preceding day at Elizabeth in special prayer for Divine guidance.

The Ladies' Board, after careful consideration, declined to make the proposed change in their organization and the committee, in accordance with previous instructions, called a convention of the synodical committees to meet at the Bible House, New York City.

This meeting was held on the 12th of December, 1878, and resulted in the formal organization of "The Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions." This modest title was assumed to avoid the possibility of a conflict with existing institutions, and for several years it continued to be the official title of this central organ of communication between the Board of Home Missions and the synodical committees.

The officers of the new organization were :—Mrs. Ashbel Green, president ; Mrs. S. F. Scovel, and Mrs. J. B. Dunn, vice-presidents ; Mrs. F. E. Haines, corresponding secretary ; Mrs. J. D. Bedle, recording secretary ; and Mrs. M. E. Boyd, treasurer.

"Who that remembers that occasion," writes Mrs. Boyd in after years, "does not recall the solemn hush of that hour, when the Master through the sweet calm voice of our chairman, Mrs. Scovel, talked to us of holy service. 'If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me ; and if I then, your Lord and Master, wash your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet.' It was to render service to our divine Lord, through the person of our benighted and neglected fellow-countrymen, that this organization was effected and work begun. The field of operation was the exceptional population of our land ; the object to enlighten and Christianize them. Surely such a gigantic enterprise, undertaken by a few feeble but earnest women, was not the product of human invention, else its history would have been written long ago in disgrace and failure."

Mrs. Green held the position to which she was called with rare ability and whole-hearted devotion to the work during its formative period, and until her death, on the 16th of August, 1885. She was succeeded by Mrs. Darwin R. James, a leader of national reputation, who, by her noble example, undaunted faith, and unceasing devotion to this sacred trust has won the hearts, inspired the confidence, and stimulated the endeavours of all who have laboured with her. Her period of service has been one of continuous advance and enlargement: and, with undiminished vigour she still presides over the noble band of consecrated women who have joined hands and united prayers with her in this good work.

It will be admitted by all who are familiar with the events which led up to the formation of the Woman's Executive Committee that Mrs. R. F. Haines, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, who by unanimous consent was chosen to be its corresponding secretary, was the most active and efficient agent in the formation and shaping of this enterprise. Her correspondence with Dr. Jackson in its incipient stages and developments, indicates the wisdom of her counsels, as well as the depth of her interest, which never seemed to flag, despite the discouragements and conflicts of opinion encountered on every hand. Her sweet spirit and saintly life were manifest in all her labours and trials: and, with unreserved dedication she gave "her brain, time, money, and strength freely and voluntarily to this cause." As one of the missionaries in Utah once expressed it:—"To many of us, the Woman's Executive Committee seemed to be personified in Mrs. Haines, and its energies and lively sympathies to be concentrated in her. She embodied its faith, its daring spirit, its conquering aggressiveness, and the largeness of its desire concerning the work which had been committed to it."

In a notable anniversary address, given at the annual meeting in May, 1904, Mrs. James ranked Mrs. Haines with the first three, who were worthy of special mention in connection with the founding of the Woman's Executive Committee:—

“Three names stand with prominent brilliancy at the beginning of our organization, those of Rev. Henry Kendall, D. D., Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., and Mrs. F. E. Haines. To Dr. Jackson, however, more than is generally known, this Board owes a debt of unceasing gratitude, and when the life of that remarkable man shall be written, one will see how from the very beginning to the present time his help has been freely given to aid our work.”

In the reminiscence hour at the same meeting, Dr. Jackson was requested to give an account of the steps which led to the formation of the Woman's Executive Committee, then known as the Woman's Board. In response, he said:—

It will be necessary to speak in a personal manner. I was sent to the frontier as a young missionary to do missionary work among the Indians, but as I looked over the field I could do little without the aid of a missionary teacher. I wrote Dr. Kendall, then secretary of the Board, that we must have a teacher to go into the homes of the Indians, to gather the children, and to open the way for the minister. Later I came in contact with the Mexicans, with the same result. To my appeal, Dr. Kendall replied that the Board did not have a cent to devote to employing missionary teachers. “We can send you a preacher, though.” To which I wrote back: “They won't come to hear preachers: send us a teacher.” Still there was no money for teachers. I said to Dr. Kendall: “We must have a Woman's Society for Home Missions.” Dr. Kendall saw there was something lacking for effective work on the field and tried to secure the organization of a woman's national home missionary society for the Presbyterian Church. The original of this Woman's Home Missionary Society had two members,

both *men*! Dr. Henry Kendall and myself. Dr. Kendall was president and I was secretary. While at the General Assembly we would announce that there would be a Woman's Home Mission rally, and it was not hard to fill the largest hall or church with women who would come in response to such an invitation, but an organization was not effected for some years. It was not easy to convince the women of the necessity for such an organization. The first recommendation of the General Assembly was that in addition to its box work, the women should be encouraged to give money towards home missions. In the two following assemblies, it was recommended that women should organize definitely for this work.

Finally, in response to repeated solicitations, a meeting was called in Pittsburg, and the women coming together there, became convinced of the necessity for organization, and took the work then and there out of my hands, and they have carried it on with great success ever since.

To facilitate the work of this new organization, Dr. Jackson offered the free use of the columns of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*. This offer was gratefully accepted, and that paper became the official organ of the committee.

Its name was changed January 1, 1881, to the broader title "Presbyterian Home Missions," to accord with the wider sweep of its range and influence. At the close of this year, he presented the paper with its greatly augmented list of subscribers to the Board of Home Missions.

Four years later, the executive committee undertook the publication of a magazine, which was named the *Home Mission Monthly*. Within a few months of its issue, it numbered ten thousand paid subscribers, and its success, under the able and efficient management of Mrs. Delos E. Finks, its only editor—has been phenomenal.

To this work Mrs. Finks came with the experience of more than a decade of blessed service as the wife of a devoted home missionary in Colorado, having crossed the

plains on her bridal tour, in the early seventies. The magazine has not only been self-supporting from the start, but has paid over to the general fund a large sum, in the aggregate, from its surplus, over all expenditures, year by year. On its twentieth anniversary, its surplus for the year was more than \$2,500—enough, as the secretary puts it, to support five day-school teachers in Porto Rico and Cuba.

In a recent communication, Mrs. Finks gratefully acknowledges the personal assistance rendered to her as well as to the cause she represents by Dr. Jackson, and adds:—"He stood behind the overtures which went to the General Assembly relative to the formation of a Woman's Home Mission organization, and was the firm friend and wise counsellor in those early days. His life has been one of far-reaching influence and unflinching zeal and devotion."

In 1880, the Woman's Board of Missions of the Southwest, and, in 1882, the Woman's Board of Missions of Long Island, connected their home work with the executive committee. One year later, the Ladies' Board of Missions of New York discontinued their home department, which was also consolidated with the Woman's Executive Committee.

Thus, at length, without friction or abatement of zeal for either cause, conflicting interests were harmonized and a great National Association pledged to the work of home evangelization grew up alongside of its sister organization for the evangelization of the world. The motto of the one was "The world for Christ"; the motto of the other was "Our country for Christ, that through its influence the world may be more quickly brought to the knowledge of Him." The methods and proportionate expenditures could not be harmonized or brought before the Church in one budget, but each department along its own lines did its work effectively, and perhaps all the

more successfully because the leaders of each had a free hand and a wide, unrestricted field. None of the evil things which were prophesied concerning the division or transference of funds and the wrecking of the foreign work, in some sections of the land, ever happened in the practical working of these organizations. Within the limits of the Presbyterian Church, it was soon found that there was ample room for both ; and marvellous was the growth of each as in generous rivalry this ever-increasing host of noble women laboured side by side, for one or both, as it seemed best to them, for the furtherance and extension of the kingdom of their common Lord.

In 1885, the field of work assigned to the Woman's Executive Committee was enlarged by the addition of a department of instruction for the benefit of the ignorant masses of the negro race in the South. A year later, the needy whites of the Southern mountains were included, by action of the General Assembly, within its sphere of work and influence. In 1893, a Young People's Department was added, to promote intelligent, systematic work among the various organizations of the young people in the Church, and a superintendent of schools was appointed to have general oversight of the educational work. In 1895, there was a further enlargement of the work to include missionary effort among the immigrant populations of foreign tongues in the mining and other industrial sections of the country. Another advance was made in the same year in the commissioning of women other than teachers, for missionary work in the homes of the mountaineers of the South, and wherever similar work should be needed. In 1897, the name was changed to "*The Woman's Board of Home Missions*," to indicate more clearly the national scope of its work. In the same year, the maintenance of preachers of the Gospel in churches connected with or growing out of the mis-

sion schools, was undertaken. In 1899, the missionary teachers of this Board followed the flag to Porto Rico and Cuba ; and in the schools and hospitals and mission stations already established there a work of marvellous extent, and still more marvellous transforming power, has been already accomplished.

During the first year of its existence the Woman's Executive Committee supported twenty teachers commissioned for its field, and its receipts from all sources were \$5,296.

In 1908, twenty-nine years after its organization, this splendidly equipped agency for the evangelization of our land reported a missionary force of 442, and an offering of more than a half million dollars. While the direct influence of this work can only be estimated by the mathematics of the angels, its reflex influence has also been very great. It has developed a nobler type of womanhood and a higher ideal of patriotism. And it has added immeasurably to the effective working force of our churches by diverting lives that otherwise might have been aimless and worldly minded into the noblest forms of Christian life and activity.

The story of its conquests over superstition and sin ; of its wonderful influence in moulding sentiment and quickening the public conscience in dealing with the aborigines of the land ; of its influence as a potent factor in exposing and resisting the debasing influences of Mormonism at the capitol of the Nation, as well as in the strongholds of its possessions ; of its marvellously rapid growth and widely diversified forms of consecrated and concentrated activities—do not properly come within the range of this chapter. Suffice it to say, that this Woman's Board is to-day the largest and most efficient evangelistic agency, of its kind, in this, or any other nation of Christendom.

The writer has watched this movement from its earliest beginnings and development, has sympathized, and laboured, to some extent, with those who were its prime movers in the day of small things, and it has been his aim to present mainly the facts which relate to that period of its history and growth ; to the intent that honour may be given to those who toiled at the foundations, to whom in the fullest sense of the term honour is due.



BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND NOTABLE
SUPERINTENDENTS OF MISSIONS.

(For names see Appendix, page 482. Group 7.)

XIII

PIONEER WORK OUTSIDE THE SYNOD OF COLORADO

Texas—Nevada—Idaho—Alaska
(1870-1880)

“He had the eye of an explorer, which always rests on the horizon; and his desires ran ahead of his vision.”—*The Prospector*.

THE initial work of exploration and evangelization which has been described in detail in the preceding chapters, ranged over six of the largest of the Rocky Mountain territories, and was crowded into a period covering a little more than a decade of active service. With hands full and heart burdened with the daily demands of this great work, so varied in its nature and so pressing in its claims, Sheldon Jackson, nevertheless, found time for the study of the needy fields beyond the limits of his prescribed range of official tenure and oversight. In the columns of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* and in public addresses he urged the occupation, in the name of Christ, of every section of the newer portions of the land, and kept in close touch with every movement which had for its object the enlightenment and evangelization of its exceptional population.

In the winter of 1872, he reached out a helping hand across the border of Utah, to a little band of evangelical Christians in Pioche, a prosperous mining town in Nevada. At this time, the secretaries of the Board could give no assurance of assistance in the support of a missionary for that field. It was the centre of a community,

however, destitute of gospel privileges, with a population of about five thousand souls, and without question as to boundary lines, or prospective support, Dr. Jackson took it under his care. In reply to an inquiry of Mr. John Paul Egbert, a student at Princeton Theological Seminary, who was seeking a temporary field of labour in the New West, he directed attention to this place and recommended him to visit it. Mr. Egbert, who has since served the Church in some of its most important fields of labour, in the East as well as in the West, went to Pioche at once, and in a short time gathered an interesting and enthusiastic congregation. An organization was effected on the first day of May, 1873 ; but soon after Mr. Egbert was obliged to leave the field in consequence of a severe attack of illness. His successor, the Rev. H. B. McBride, of the McCormick Theological Seminary, was also secured through the influence of Sheldon Jackson. The congregation provided for the greater part of the support of both of these young men, and that which was lacking was made up to them from the hitherto unfailing supply of the "Raven Fund."

The following letter, which came to hand a few days after the date of the organization of the church at Pioche, is given as an instance of timely aid from unexpected sources outside the regular channels of communication and supply :—

West Chester, Pa., May 13, 1873.

REV. SHELDON JACKSON,

DEAR SIR :—Our good friend, Mrs.——, whose interest in mission work here, in the West and in foreign fields, is ever warm, has entrusted me with \$100 for mission work in the West, which we think had better be given to you to be expended according to your judgment. We trust through this some may be taught to know, love, and serve God.

Your friend,
S. M. DICKSON.

A few months later, another friend from the same place writes :—

I will enclose a draft which you will use as your judgment dictates, either for the support of missionaries now in the field, or towards building a church. What is over \$100 please use for your paper or rather your private missionary work.

Thus through voluntary offerings, unhampered for the most part by limitations, Dr. Jackson was given the opportunity oftentimes to supplement the insufficient aid furnished by the Board, or to seize opportunities in advance of the tardy processes of official action.

In the summer of 1874, the needs of the great and rapidly-growing state of Texas appealed strongly to his sympathies, and he was urged by some of his personal friends to consider its claims with a view to undertaking the superintendency of the missionary work within its limits. With the approval of the officials of the Board, he made a tour of exploration through some of the sections of the state which gave promise of the most rapid development, noting the conditions and exigencies of the several points of special interest in each. This journey, which occupied less than a month of the autumn season, covered a distance of 3,500 miles. It included Junction City, Austin, Galveston, San Antonio, Fort Scott, and other important centres of growth and influence. With respect to this tour and the reasons for making it Dr. Jackson writes :—

I went to Texas at the suggestion of Dr. Kendall. At the time Texas was receiving a very large emigration, and Dr. Kendall was disposed to transfer me from the Rocky Mountain field to that of Texas, as superintendent of missions, and probably wanted to give me a chance of seeing what I thought of Texas. He secured from William E. Dodge free passes for

myself and wife over all the railroad lines in the state. Both Mrs. Jackson and myself concluded that the climate would not suit us, consequently no change of location was made.

In the spring of 1877, the Rev. E. B. Wright, of Austin, Texas, made another earnest but unsuccessful attempt to secure Dr. Jackson for this field. Under date of April 17th, he writes :—

Are you not by this time aching for “New Worlds” to conquer? I hope so, and that you will conclude “Texas” to be a prominent enough world to suit your ambition. Our condition is this: the work is growing upon us; immigration is pouring in and bids fair to be a continual stream for years: and to-day there is no better ground for mission work in the United States than the state of Texas. . . . It is, therefore, evident that we must have a superintendent for our work, of grit, grace, and experience. Very much depends on the man we get. . . . Like Diogenes, we must light our lamp and hunt for a man and we ought to have him early on the ground next fall. . . . Now please write me a letter and give a hint that it is possible that we can get you. Do not be too quick to think, or to say “no.” If you will but give me a hint to encourage us, I think I can make up all the details in such a way as will save you from any annoyance in the matter.

There was another field in the remote regions of the Northwest, the almost unknown province of Alaska, to which this dauntless missionary explorer longed to go, as far back as the early days of the seventies, but the way of approach to it at that time was not yet open. From the date of its transfer by the Russian authorities to the government and protection of the United States, frequent appeals had been made to the churches and missionary societies of the several Protestant denominations of the country, by Christian women, civilians, and government officials, residing in Alaska, in behalf of its deluded and degraded natives, thousands of whom had never even

heard the name of the Saviour of sinners, but for several years there was no response to these appeals and the land was literally shrouded in the gross darkness of heathenism.

As early as 1869, two years after the transfer of Alaska to the United States, Mr. Vincent Colyer, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, made a tour of exploration into a portion of this new possession, and, upon his return, recommended the immediate establishment of schools among its ignorant native population, numbering at that time about 30,000 souls. In accordance with this recommendation, an appropriation of \$50,000 was voted by the Congress of 1870-1871, but no provision was made for the administering of the fund, and it was not used.

During his term of service as commander of the Military Department of the Northwest, which included Alaska, Major-General O. O. Howard also made frequent and urgent requests through the religious newspapers for missionaries and teachers to supply the pressing need of this long-neglected section of the land.

Stirred by the thought that all these efforts and appeals had failed to secure a single missionary, or establish a single school of the American type in a period which covered nearly a decade of American occupation, Sheldon Jackson wrote to the Board of Home Missions in the winter of 1875, and again in 1876, urging the establishment of a Presbyterian mission among the Alaskans. These requests were respectfully considered, but this far-away region was then regarded as distinctively foreign mission ground, and for this reason, mainly, no action was taken.

About the same time, the Rev. A. L. Lindsley, D. D., of Portland, one of the most active and aggressive leaders of the Presbyterian Church in Oregon, corresponded with the Board of Foreign Missions with respect to the same thing. This Board at the time was struggling under the

burden of a heavy debt ; and could not give any assurance of help to Alaska, then or in the near future. Its inability to meet such a crisis in the homeland, was evident from the fact that it had not established a new mission of a permanent character among the Indians of the country since the year 1849.

✠Thus for a period of almost ten years the American flag had waved over a broad section of our national domain, containing many thousands of ignorant and degraded inhabitants, in which there were no churches or missionaries of the evangelical faith : no schools of the American type, and, for a still longer period, no ruler by official appointment ; and no organized form of government.

At length, as if to shame the great Christian nation which had so culpably neglected them, the opening of Alaska to missionary work came through agencies outside the territory of the United States, and from the representatives of this needy people themselves.

There are few instances in the annals of mission work in any land, where the transforming power of the Gospel has been more rapid in its development, and more wonderful in its results, than among the native population over the border line in British Columbia, during the period to which reference has been made.

In the autumn of 1857, Mr. William Duncan came to Fort Simpson and at once began his labours among the Tsimpsen Indians, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society of England.

“ Here,” he says, “ I found nine tribes of Indians, numbering by actual count 2,300 souls. To attempt a description of their condition would be but to produce a dark and revolting picture of human depravity. The dark mantle of degrading superstition enveloped them all, and their savage spirits, swayed by pride, jealousy, and revenge, were ever hurrying them on to deeds of blood. Their history was little else than a

chapter of crime and misery. But, worse was to come. The following year the discovery of gold brought in a rush of miners. Fire-water now began its reign of terror, and debauchery its work of desolation. On every hand were raving drunkards and groaning victims. The medicine-man's rattle and the voice of wailing seldom ceased."

In the midst of these appalling difficulties, and in the face of perils which would have deterred a man of ordinary courage and faith, Mr. Duncan set himself resolutely to work. As he told in simple fashion the old story of redeeming love, some of the hardened hearts before him began to melt ; and as at Antioch, Corinth, and Ephesus, in the olden time, one and another were led to forsake their evil ways and heathen practices and to enter into covenant with God and one another to live in conformity with the teaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. On the 28th of June, Mr. Duncan opened the first school in the house of a friendly chief, with twenty-six children and fifteen adults. Before the close of the year the attendance had increased to 140 children and fifty adults. From this time the interest in the knowledge of "the good way" began to increase and the evil influence of the conjurers, who had so long deceived and enthralled them, began to wane. In the month of May, 1862, a devoted band of converts to the faith of Christ came out from the evil associations which environed them and established a Christian village, with strict regulations concerning life and conduct, at a place thirty miles away, called Metlah-katlah. In his description of this remarkable exodus, Mr. Duncan says :—

When all were seated in the place of assembly the question was put, "Will any one stand out in the midst of the scoffing heathen and declare themselves Christians?" First there came two or three, trembling, and said they were willing to go anywhere, and to give up all for the blessed Saviour's sake,

Others were then encouraged ; and that day fifty stood forth, and gathered such things as they needed, put them into their canoes, and away they went. On that day, every tie was broken ; children were separated from their parents, husbands from wives, brothers from sisters, houses, land, and all things were left—such was the power at work in their minds.

The story of Metlahkatlah, its rapid growth into a community numbering about 1,000 souls and its ultimate transfer to a new settlement within the limits of the United States, is familiar to all the readers of modern missionary literature. It will suffice for our present purpose to say that this mission was a potent influence in preparing the way for the introduction of the Gospel among the native tribes of Alaska.

Not less wonderful in its developments and results, and still more closely connected with the beginnings of missionary work in Alaska, was the mission established a few years later by the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British Columbia. In the latter part of the sixties, a pioneer evangelist of this church conducted a series of religious services in Victoria, which resulted in the conversion and in-gathering of a large number of the native population, many of whom belonged to the tribes of the interior. Within the far-reaching sweep of this wonderful work of God were some who had been notable leaders in wickedness, whose changed lives and intense zeal in seeking the conversion of others attested the power of the Gospel which they professed. At the close of these services, the new converts from the interior went everywhere, like the disciples of old, “preaching the word.”

One of the converts, the chief of a tribe located in the vicinity of Fort Simpson, returned to his people with the fire of Divine love burning in his heart, and at once, in connection with his wife, opened a day-school, which was attended, ere long, by over two hundred people. Relig-

ious services were held also at Fort Simpson, which, in the absence of a regular minister were carried on by the people themselves. When the Rev. Thomas Crosby was sent out to this mission station by the Canadian church, in the fall of 1874, "he found a glorious work of grace in progress, and not a single family that had not already renounced paganism and all were impatiently awaiting his arrival to be taught more perfectly in the new way." Thus a whole tribe came under the power of the Gospel, and, as at Metlahkatlah, organized a Christian community which year by year advanced steadily in the direction of a higher civilization.

In the spring of 1876, a little band of these native Christians, eight in number, crossed the border into Alaska in search of employment. At Fort Wrangell, they secured a government contract to cut wood. To the surprise of the officers and men at the post, they declined to work on the Sabbath: and, as was their custom, met together for Christian worship. In Captain S. P. Jocelyn, of the 21st Infantry, the commanding officer at the Fort, they found a protector and warm personal friend. Thus, in the wonderful ordering of the providence of God, through these humble workmen who had recently accepted the faith of Christ in British Columbia, and were seeking for more light without the aid of any accredited missionary teacher, the kingdom of God came, without observation, to Alaska. They were the honoured messengers to whom the Holy Spirit gave the privilege of publishing the gospel story to the ignorant and degraded natives in advance of all the churches and missionary societies of our land. Surely in the annals of missionary work since the days of the Apostles there has been nothing more pathetic and significant than the efforts of this little band of new converts to stimulate one another in holding fast to their profession of faith, and to make

known, in so far as they had opportunity, the way of life to those who, for lack of this knowledge, were miserably perishing around them. In response to their earnest request, Mr. Crosby visited Fort Wrangell, as the summer season was drawing to its close and his labours among them for a brief season were greatly blessed. Before he took his departure to his own field he persuaded one of the wood-cutters, Philip McKay, better known among the natives as "Clah," to remain in Alaska during the winter and continue the religious services among the natives in the vicinity of the Fort.

On his return to Fort Simpson, Mr. Crosby wrote to the secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church at New York, describing the condition of affairs and urging the establishment of a mission there at once. To this request, the response was not favourable at the time, and the reason assigned was "lack of funds." He next wrote to the mission Board of the Presbyterian Church, but here also the disposition to help was restrained for the same reason.

Meanwhile, the native evangelist, Clah, aided by one of his associates who remained in Alaska, gave his whole time to Christian work. He opened a day-school in October, which had an attendance of ninety—many of his scholars being adults—during the winter. Although not so far advanced in the rudiments of an English education as an average schoolboy of nine years of age in the United States, Clah made the best of his knowledge as preacher and teacher and daily sought for more.

Better than all other knowledge, he had the teaching of the Holy Spirit, and, as a result, a deep religious interest was awakened among the natives to whom he ministered.

So great was the change wrought in the lives of some who came under the influence of the Gospel that the citi-

zens and soldiers stationed at Fort Wrangell were astonished and deeply impressed. As the result of the winter's work, forty of the natives gave up their heathenism and publicly acknowledged their faith in Christ, while others renounced witchcraft, devil dances, and the debasing servitude imposed upon them by the conjurors and medicine-men.

There were two witnesses to this remarkable movement among the native population in and about Fort Wrangell who used their influence in a very effective way on their behalf. One was Mr. John C. Mallory, a temporary resident of Portland, Oregon, who had come to the West in search of health. Through the influence of his friend and pastor, Rev. Dr. A. L. Lindsley, he had secured a position in some subordinate capacity in the United States Army and was sent to Alaska on special duty by direction of Major-General Howard. Mr. Mallory reached Fort Wrangell, in the early spring of 1877, but was confined to his bed with hemorrhage of the lungs during the greater part of the month which he spent at the post. He had seen enough and heard enough, however, during his brief stay, to arouse his interest and quicken his zeal in behalf of this needy people, who, without efficient leadership, were struggling up towards the light and vainly pleading for missionaries and teachers from the churches of their own land. On his return to Portland, which was hastened by the critical condition of his health, the pathetic story of a waiting people and a wide open door was told by this dying man to deeply interested hearers. To this call for help, Dr. Lindsley and his people were eager to respond to the extent of their ability, but at this time the only agency available for succour was the Foreign Board, and for the reason already given no grant was made by it for the work in Alaska and consequently no missionary was commissioned or sent.

The other witness to this movement whose heart was touched with pity for the condition of these neglected wards of the nation was Mr. J. S. Brown, a soldier connected with the post. Mr. Brown was not himself a professing Christian, but was so moved by what he saw and heard that he wrote a letter to General Howard, entreating him to use his influence to persuade some church or missionary society to send a missionary to Fort Wrangell.

The letter does credit to the mind and heart of Mr. Brown, and is worthy of a place in this narrative.

Dear Sir :—I write you in behalf of the Indians in this section of Alaska, hoping that you may be able and willing to assist these poor creatures in their endeavours to learn more of the good Saviour, of whom they have learned but recently.

About last June, a party of Indians from Fort Simpson, British Columbia, arrived at Wrangell and instituted a series of meetings for divine worship. The Stickeens and other tribes here really know nothing about Christianity. They soon became interested in the proceedings of their Christian visitors, and a few, after many inquiries, concluded to try the "new life" of which they had heard. Since then, the few have become a hundred, and the tribe are asking for a Christian teacher, or some one to explain to them more fully the way.

Rev. Mr. Crosby, of Fort Simpson, came here last fall and did noble work for a few days, but his own mission demanded his presence, and he could only leave two young men (Indians) of his church to continue the work. It has been manfully carried on during the winter; and could you, gentlemen, be present during some of their services, I know your hearts would go out to them at the earnestness of their prayers and their intense mental struggles between the prejudices of their tribal teachings and the new doctrines of Christianity. They are poor financially, and while their country is unfitted for anything like agriculture, the waters are rich in fish, and the land full of game and heavily covered with timber. Since the advent of traders and miners among them, lewdness and debauchery have held high carnival, and the decimation of their numbers is the result. If a school and mission were established at Wrangell

there would, no doubt, be an Indian population of over 1,000 souls located within reach of its benefits. And one whole-souled, energetic worker here could sow seed that would bear fruit from British Columbia to Bering's Straits.

These Indians have patriotic ideas, are proud to call themselves "Boston Siwaches" (United States Indians), and glory in the possession of a "star-spangled banner." But they feel bad when they learn how much better off than themselves are the Indians of British Columbia. Schools and churches abound among the British Indians, so that nearly all of them can read and write, and appear to better advantage than their neighbours in Alaska. This fact speaks much for the Christian people of Canada, and little for those of our own Republic, who yearly send so much to convert the heathen in other lands, and while they allow our own countrymen, who certainly are just as deserving, to go down to the lowest hell. I am not a church-member, but am making this appeal for these poor people from the dictates of a heart that I trust may never be deaf to the cry for help from the heathen. Can you not, will you not, make it your business to build up and foster this mission to Alaska? A number of men could be employed advantageously, but one whole-hearted man could do much and pave the way for doing more. Send out a shepherd who may reclaim a mighty flock from the error of their ways, and gather them into the true fold, the Master of which said: "Feed My sheep." I hope this letter may be considered in all charity, blemishes excluded.

And now, with faith in the justice of the cause for which I plead so feebly, I leave the matter in your hands, trusting that a brighter day may soon dawn for the poor benighted natives of Alaska.

Yours sincerely,
J. S. BROWN.

This letter was referred by General Howard to Dr. Lindsley, of Portland, who gave it into the hands of the Rev. Howard Stratton, the commissioner from the Presbytery of Oregon, to the General Assembly. Of its further disposition, and the part it had in the opening of Alaska to the full enjoyment and privileges of a Christian civilization mention will be made hereafter.

“If we knew more of the Divine government,” says a recent writer, “we should discover that the Supreme Being, taking account of the condition of the Church and the world, and perceiving, as we do but dimly, the tendency of the currents of thought moving among men, foresees that there will be need of some special message being proclaimed, and especially commissions a messenger, whom he prepares and equips for the task of delivering it.” So in this hour of emergency, and in answer to this pathetic appeal, “there was a man sent from God” whose name was—Sheldon Jackson. Henceforth, although he knew it not then, the rest of his active life was to be devoted to the education and evangelization of the people of this far-away northland. Like Philip in Samaria, he was engaged in a great work, which seemed to demand all his energies and time, when an unexpected call came to leave it for a brief season, in order to make a special tour outside of his prescribed field of labour. Like Philip, also, he knew not the real object of this journey until in unquestioning obedience to the ordering of Providence he was far on his way. The first intimation of the purpose of the officials of the Home Board, through whom this call to go northward came, was given in a letter from the senior secretary, Dr. Kendall, under date of April 19, 1877. In substance, his instructions were to make a tour of exploration in Montana, in order that he might become better acquainted with its principal cities and strategic points, and that in so far as possible he might supply such fields as were destitute of gospel privileges, pending the arrival of men who should be commissioned to take charge of them. The time allotted for this service was about three months. At or near the end of this period, he was directed to go to Boise City, in Idaho Territory, and thence northward to Walla Walla, in Oregon Territory.

Returning from this point, he was requested, if the way should be clear, to make a thorough exploration of the whole field north of the Pacific Railroad to the California and Oregon lines. This tour, as originally laid out, included territory belonging to the superintendents of other fields, but the Board took the responsibility of making this special investigation, mainly for the reason that these sections were practically beyond the reach of those who were appointed to care for them. At the close of this letter of instruction, Dr. Kendall says:—

“You will be glad to know that the financial outlook is more encouraging than we expected, and that we stand ready to send the right men to all the important points now open from the Missouri River to the Pacific coast.”

In a foot-note to this communication, Dr. Jackson adds: “The above letter resulted in the opening of Alaska to gospel work.”

This is literally true as to the result, but it was due to a series of overruling providences which, in the first instance, eliminated Montana from the proposed tour of exploration, and afterwards diverted the course of the journey, as originally outlined, from Eastern Oregon and Washington Territories to Portland and Alaska. In the letter itself there is no intimation of a visit to Alaska: and in the mind of the writer there was no thought of including it in this northward tour.

During the sessions of the General Assembly, which was convened at Chicago, on the 17th of May, Mr. Stratton, the commissioner from the Presbytery of Oregon, gave Mr. Brown's letter into the hands of Sheldon Jackson to make such use of it as he deemed best. Deeply touched with the pathetic appeal of its writer, he published it at once in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* and soon after in the leading organs of the Presbyterian Church

throughout the country. The original letter he forwarded to the Board of Home Missions with the request that a suitable man be commissioned as soon as possible for this long-neglected field. By a remarkable conjunction of unforeseen events, the General Assembly had prepared the way at one of its sessions for the granting of this request by authorizing the Home Board to establish schools and support missionary teachers under certain circumstances, among the aboriginal or exceptional population of the country. This action was somewhat ambiguous in expression, and was in advance of any movement looking to the evangelization of the natives of Alaska ; but the Board acted upon the presumption that it covered the needs of this far-away northland, and at the first regular meeting after Dr. Jackson's letter was received, appointed the Rev. Francis Robinson as their missionary to the post at Fort Wrangell. This action was taken in June, but before the commission reached him, Mr. Robinson had accepted a call to a church in California.

While at the assembly definite instructions relating to the special mission northward, suggested by Dr. Kendall in the letter above mentioned, were given to Dr. Jackson. In the plan of the journey, as originally outlined, Montana was included. In the later plan it was omitted for lack of time, and Idaho was designated as the first territory to be visited. The start for this momentous journey was made from Denver about the 1st of July. The first stage, by rail, was over familiar ground to Kelton, Nevada. From this point, Dr. Jackson diverged northward, taking the stage-coach for Walla Walla, in the territory of Oregon, 500 miles distant. On the evening of the third day of continuous staging, he reached Boise City, Idaho, and carefully looked over the ground with a view to the establishment of a Presbyterian church.

On Sabbath, the 15th of July, he preached in the Methodist church. This was said to be the first sermon preached by any Presbyterian minister in this region. The following day several families of Presbyterians and some of other denominations, who were willing to cast in their lot with them, were visited and arrangements made for securing a minister. Through Dr. Lindsley, chairman of the Home Mission Committee of the Synod of Columbia, to whom Dr. Jackson reported the situation, a missionary was promptly sent to occupy this point and preach in the neighbouring villages. Boisé at this time had a population of about 2,000. It was then, as now, the capital of the territory, and was prospectively the most important point within its limits. On Monday evening, the 16th of July, Dr. Jackson resumed his journey by stage. His companions on this section of the journey were a scrofulous Chinaman and a gambler, far gone in consumption. During the night the gambler had a severe hemorrhage, and for a time seemed to be at the point of death.

While crossing the Blue Mountains of Oregon the air was so cool that it was necessary to wear a winter overcoat. The same night he lay "with his head in an open window, at Walla Walla, panting for breath, with the thermometer at 108° after sundown."

At this point, Dr. Jackson found the whole region of his prospective labours in commotion, by reason of a revolt among the Nez Perces Indians, under the able leadership of Chief Joseph. The revolt had already culminated in open warfare, the troops had been called into active service, and settlers in all the exposed sections were fleeing from their homes to fortified posts or other places of safety. Under such conditions, mission work in the places to which he was minded to go, was well-nigh an impossibility.

In the face of this providential interdict, Sheldon Jackson took counsel with the promptings of his own desires and judgments as to the next step, and promptly decided to go to Portland for a conference with Dr. Lindsley, and thence, if the way should be clear, to Alaska. In a description of this journey, he says: "On my long stage trips, while establishing churches throughout the Rocky Mountain territories, I had often thought of that distant section of our country, and the vague hope would sometimes cross my mind that I myself might yet be permitted to go there." In the wonder-workings of God's providence this vague hope had now grown into an intense desire, and he eagerly availed himself of the opportunity to follow the leadings of Providence, which seemed to point in that direction. "My trip, as far as Walla Walla," he writes, "was in obedience to the direct instructions of the missionary secretary, concerning which I had no discretion. From Walla Walla to Portland, the trip was discretionary, and the secretary expected me to take it. From Portland to Alaska the trip was finally taken upon my own judgment, and at the earnest request of Dr. Lindsley and others interested in Alaska." At Portland, he found Mrs. A. R. McFarland, a missionary friend who with her husband had rendered faithful service for several years at Santa Fé, the first mission established by the Presbyterian Church in the territory of New Mexico.

Mrs. McFarland, after the death of her husband, about a year previous to this visit, had removed to Portland, and was anxiously awaiting the arrival of Dr. Jackson, to consult with him with regard to future work. The recent tidings from Alaska, which had moved the little circle at Portland so deeply, had already awakened within her responsive heart the desire to go there, if the way should open: and it was soon determined that she should ac-

company Dr. Jackson to Alaska, with the view to the establishment of a Christian school, as the nucleus of a larger and more fully-equipped mission.

The faithful messenger who was thus waiting for orders at the gateway of this new possession of the United States was well aware of the hardships and perils and self-denials which this call to duty involved. In the early days of Western emigration she crossed the plains, from the Missouri River to Santa Fé, in a stage-coach several times. On one occasion, she was the only woman in the coach for twelve days and nights, and a portion of the way they were pursued by the hostile Indians of the plains. She had also had a brief experience of missionary life among the Nez Perces, before the death of her husband.

Thus through many trials and unusual experiences of hardships and dangers, Mrs. McFarland was eminently qualified for the work which she joyfully accepted as the answer to her inquiries at the Throne of Grace. From Dr. Jackson, Mrs. McFarland, and her friends in Portland, learned for the first time that the Home Board, basing its action upon the encouragement given by the last assembly, had decided to open a mission in Alaska. Thus the last barrier to the occupation of the land by these advance agents of the Church, going at their own charges and on their own responsibility, was removed.

"So to Alaska," as one has put it, "the journey was made, and at Fort Wrangell Mrs. McFarland, the only Christian white woman in the country, with an Indian woman as interpreter, with twenty-seven books, no schoolhouse, and the probability of a boat 'from below' (the States) once a month, began Christ's work in Alaska. She became nurse, doctor, undertaker, preacher, teacher, practically mayor and administrator generally, for all came to her, and, burdened almost beyond endurance, she

kept writing for a helper, for a magistrate of some sort, or an ordained minister. Tribes around began to hear of her and came for help. One old Indian of a distant tribe came and said: 'Me much sick at heart, my people all dark heart, nobody tell them that Jesus died. By and by, my people all die and go down—dark, dark.' All honour and remembrance to that noble woman who braved the loneliness and the dangers, bearing unfurled the banner of the cross!"¹

Dr. Jackson and Mrs. McFarland reached Fort Wrangell on the 10th of August, 1877, and received a warm welcome from the native Christians, who gladly turned over the work they had commenced into their hands. The woman who afterwards served Mrs. McFarland as an interpreter, was gathering her winter supply of berries a hundred miles up the Stickeen River, when the news reached her that the missionaries had come.

Regarding the interests which they represented as first in importance, she at once placed her children, bedding, and provisions in her canoe and paddled home against heavy head-winds to give the strangers a welcome, and to offer such help as she was able to give. Says Dr. Jackson:—"Upon landing at Wrangell and passing down the street, I saw an Indian ringing a bell. It was the call for the afternoon school. About twenty pupils were in attendance, mostly young Indian women. Two or three boys were present; also a mother and her three little children. As the women took their seats on the rough plank benches, each one bowed her head in silent prayer, seeking Divine help on her studies. Soon a thoughtful Indian man, of about thirty years of age, came in and took his seat behind the rude desk. It was Clah, the teacher. The familiar hymn, 'What a friend we

¹ "Over Sea and Land," M. K. Bennett.

have in Jesus,' was sung in English; a prayer followed in the Chinook jargon, closing with the repetition in concert of the Lord's prayer in English. After lessons were studied and recited, the school arose, sang the long-metre doxology and recited in concert the benediction. Then the teacher said: 'Good-afternoon, my pupils;' to which came the kindly response, 'Good-afternoon, teacher.' As in the Sandwich Islands, and more lately in Old Mexico, so here, God had opened the way, albeit under great difficulties, in advance of the coming of the usual missionary appliances."¹

On the 28th of August, Mrs. McFarland took charge of the school. On the opening day there were thirty pupils, including Philip (Clah) and the Tongas woman who was assisting as interpreter. For a time the forenoon of the school-days was occupied with the ordinary elementary branches of English studies. In the afternoon school Philip taught and preached in the Tsimpsean dialect, which was rendered into the Stickeen language by the interpreter. As soon as Dr. Jackson had completed his arrangements for the continuation of the mission, he left Mrs. McFarland in charge and returned to his own field of labour in the Synod of Colorado.

A short time before the arrival of this courageous Christian woman, who was thus left alone in a community where there were but few white men and upwards of one thousand Indians, the military force which hitherto occupied the Fort had been withdrawn. This was the only recognized authority within the limits of the land: and apart from its influence there was no semblance of law, order, or government. As in the later period of the Judges in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

Says Julia McNair Wright:—

¹ "Alaska," by Sheldon Jackson, p. 142.

We can dimly imagine some of her feelings when she saw the vessel carrying Dr. Jackson away, on his return trip, and his, as he left her to her fortune. Probably the Church in the United States has never had a greater surprise than when it heard that work in Alaska was fairly begun, and that a cultivated Presbyterian lady was left there to begin it.

"What!" was the cry that assailed Dr. Jackson; "did you leave Mrs. McFarland up there alone, among all those heathen—up there in the cold, on the edge of winter?" "Yes," was the reply, "I did; and she has neither books, nor school-house, nor helpers, nor money, nor friends—only a few converted but morally uninstructed Indians, and a great many heathen about her. Now, what will you do for her?" To this, the writer truthfully adds: "The situation awakened an enthusiasm that has had few parallels in modern church work."¹

When Dr. Jackson returned to his home and reported what he had done in this informal fashion for Alaska, there were ominous indications of disapproval in some quarters, but the Board of Home Missions gave consent to the continuance of the work as already begun, with the understanding that no funds were available for this field from the general fund. Nothing deterred by this, Sheldon Jackson at once undertook to secure a special fund for the beginning and extension of the work. His appeal, as in emergencies on previous occasions, was mainly to the women of the Church, who were now organized in many of the synods for aggressive work. His public addresses in cities and villages; at general assemblies, synods and presbyteries; at missionary and educational conventions, together with stirring appeals and deeply interesting letters from Mrs. McFarland in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*,—resulted in securing, between October, 1877, and December, 1879, a fund, aggregating over \$12,000. From the very beginning of her work, Mrs. McFarland pleaded earnestly for a "Home-school"

¹"Among the Alaskans," p. 116.

in which she could give protection and shelter for the orphan and defenseless girls whom she had undertaken to instruct and befriend.

"This need," says Mrs. Wright, "became more and more evident. As soon as Mrs. McFarland's instructions had secured the personal improvement of the young girls, making them bright in manner and tidy in dress and person, their superior appearance attracted the attention of scoundrels who at once tried to buy them of their heathen parents, and thus, again and again, promising pupils were carried off for lives of vice and misery. But now two of these girls disappeared from the school, and word was brought Mrs. McFarland that they had been accused of witchcraft and were being tortured. In agony of mind, she set out to release them. The school implored her not to go! 'They are having a devil dance, and will kill you.' Shustaks, a wicked chief of the heathen element, had threatened her life, and would now take it. Sarah Dickinson, the interpreter, threw her arms around her, and, weeping, declared she was going to her death.

"The converted Indians, at other times so bold, shrank from intermeddling with the madness of a devil-dance, and warned her to desist from a hopeless errand; but up to the beach alone hurried that Christian teacher to where her two poor girls were bound hand and foot, stripped naked, in the centre of fifty dancing and frantic fiends, who with yells cut the victims with knives and tore out pieces of their flesh. Forcing her way to the side of the captives, in spite of threats and execrations, Mrs. McFarland stood warning and pleading, and threatening them with the wrath of the United States; and after hours of dauntless persistency cowed the wretches and took off the half-dead girls. During the night one of them was recaptured and killed."

To rescue helpless young women from such atrocities, a home was provided through the joint efforts of Dr. Jackson and the writer of the above, Mrs. Julia McNair Wright.

The funds secured for this purpose were the larger part of the special fund of \$12,000, which was collected prior

to December, 1879. That which remained over was used to pay the salaries of the missionaries, the number of whom had been increased up to this date to five. The first minister commissioned for this field was John G. Brady. He reached Fort Wrangell in the spring of 1878, where he remained a month, celebrated the first Christian marriage among the Alaskans, and then passed on to establish a second mission at Sitka. In the spring of 1880, Mr. Brady severed his connection with the mission.

In after years, he filled important offices of trust in the affairs of government in Alaska, and rendered efficient service to the state as well as to the Church as governor of the territory, during three terms dating from June 16, 1897, to May 1, 1906. In him the advocates of law, order, and fair dealing, and the missionary and educational forces of the country, had a staunch supporter and a warm, influential friend.¹

A few months before the arrival of Mr. Brady at Wrangell, the native evangelist, Clah, had a severe hemorrhage of the lungs, and soon after was called to the reward of the faithful in the "better country."

The records of the Presbytery of Alaska give the fol-

¹ At a later date, November, 1903, Dr. Jackson bears this testimony to Mr. Brady's loyalty to the missionary cause and the efficient service which he rendered it in other departments of labour and influence :—

"At this time Mr. Brady has a commanding influence for good in Alaska, both among the natives and among the better class of whites. There is no man in Alaska the natives of Southeastern Alaska would so soon go to when in trouble or in need of advice. He has for all the past years kept the church at Sitka, for the whites, in existence. He was made United States Commissioner under President Arthur and was continued by President Cleveland during three years of his term. He was appointed governor by President McKinley and was continued by President Roosevelt; and both in private and public life has for over a quarter of a century done missionary work at his own expense in Alaska."

lowing accessions to the missionary force prior to January 1, 1880 :—

Miss Fannie Kellogg, missionary teacher, opened school at Sitka, April 17, 1878; Rev. S. H. Young arrived at Wrangell and took charge of mission August 8, 1878; Rev. W. R. Corlies, medical missionary and general assistant, who with his family served without expense to the Board at Wrangell for about three years from June 23, 1879; Miss Maggie J. Dunbar, missionary teacher, arrived at Fort Wrangell, July 14, 1879.

XIV

A SUMMER VACATION AND ITS OUTCOME

“Until Sheldon Jackson’s voice roused the Church, the interest taken in this far-off region (Alaska) and its people was but slight. He laboured incessantly among the churches and through the press, until he awakened that missionary zeal for Alaska which has given us the churches and schools we now have there.”—*Dr. Robert W. Hill, Superintendent of the Synod of Columbia, 1882.*

THE successful inauguration of missionary work in Alaska, in so brief a space of time, was not accomplished without serious opposition. On the mission field there were some who regarded this movement as detracting from the work already established in the Western territories; and from their standpoint severely criticised Dr. Jackson for travelling beyond the bounds of his own synodical territory. One of his warmest friends who was then, and is now, a leader among the missionary forces of the West, wrote, under date of February 14, 1879 :—

I am very sorry, Doctor, that you are diverting attention from all this necessary and important work in the territories (Alaska was not even recognized as a territory at that time) by any further discussion of Alaska. I am thoroughly convinced that it is amiss to make that enterprise *permanent*. . . . If all the people in Alaska were Christians, they wouldn’t be worth so much to the country and the world as *one* live Christian in Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, or Idaho. We need new missionaries and more teachers. Where’s the reason for sinking money in Alaska when so many points, important fields *right in the heart of the country are unsupplied?*

In the Church at this time there was another element which strenuously opposed any movement which favoured the evangelization of the Indian tribes of the country through the agency of the Home Board, and in keeping with this position antagonized the effort which was being made to organize Presbyterian women for the purpose of aiding in this work. A noted leader in this opposition was Dr. Wm. C. Gray of *The Interior*. Regarding "Jackson" as the head and front of both movements, he criticised his efforts along these lines unsparingly. He described his long journeys in search of new fields of labour as the "canterings" of the "wild horsemen of the Rockies" and allowed his riotous imagination to picture the clouds of dust, which followed him in his swift course from the Arctic circle to the Mexican Gulf. Referring to this opposition, in a letter to the clerk of the Presbytery of Oregon, under date of July 12, 1878, Dr. Jackson says:—

The treasurer of the Home Board writes that they have received as the result of my letters and addresses, large contributions, aggregating thousands of dollars as specials to Alaska. One person sent in a check for six hundred dollars. This cordial response from the Church gave the Secretaries encouragement to enter upon the work in Alaska; and but for that encouragement they would not have taken up this work: for you are probably aware that there is a large minority in the Presbyterian Church, led by *The Interior* of Chicago, who are opposed to the Board of Home Missions having anything to do with schools, or Indians. And this minority has made itself felt in the office of the Home Board in New York City. Because I have such missions under my care and press them vigorously on the Church he has seen fit to make violent attacks on me and my work. The sins of the "canterings" consist in the fact that the Alaska Indians were at one end of the trip. He will oppose anything in that line that your presbytery will do.

In the later years of his life, Dr. Gray had another vision of the man and his work and became one of his

warmest friends and most enthusiastic supporters. After his election to the highest post of honour in the gift of the Presbyterian Church, the editor of *The Interior* wrote, under date of May 27, 1897 :—

It would be a poor showing if a man of Dr. Jackson's record could not now, after forty years of the most distinguished service of any American missionary, with the solitary exception (if exception it be) of Marcus Whitman, receive recognition. . . . Dr. Jackson is the most guileless man I ever knew. With a fondness for humour, which is probably excessive in me, I used, a score of years ago, to find food for good-natured satire in the little missionary, Sheldon Jackson, who had charge of the whole country from the Rio Grande to British Columbia, west of the Mississippi River. I used to call him the missionary mustang of the Rockies, and depict the clouds of dust which followed his swift career between the tropics and the arctics. Almost any other man would have taken it seriously and become my mortal enemy; not so Jackson. Some of his near friends were angry about it, but he only laughed at it. He has, as I now know, a quiet revenge; he says he has clipped all these descriptions out and pasted them in a scrap-book, as part of the history of Western missionaries. If these descriptions should ever get into that history, the laugh would be longest and loudest—not at Jackson, but at myself.

As a result of the pressure brought upon the Board of Home Missions in the period of which we write, the following notification was addressed to Dr. Jackson from the office in New York, February 3, 1879 :—

At the regular meeting of the Board of Home Missions held January 28, 1879, the action following was adopted :—

Resolved,—That it is the judgment of this Board that the interests of home missions would be best subserved by Dr. Jackson, by his remaining upon his widely extended and destitute field,—unless when called away by the special appointment of the Board.

(Signed) O. E. BOYD, Recording Secretary.

Now it so happened that at the very time this deliverance was made, Sheldon Jackson was planning to make another trip to Alaska, in the interests of the work to which he was committed, and was also desirous of obtaining a vacation—a rare privilege, which he had never asked before—for that purpose. In his reply to the above notification, which was virtually a reflection upon his course of action, he gave a threefold reason for his eastward trips, and, with a naïveté that is certainly remarkable, in view of the circumstances, presented his plea for a two months' leave of absence, with the very purpose in view for which he had been tacitly reproved. Not only this, but he asks that one or more representatives of the Board should accompany him to Alaska, a far cry beyond his widely-extended field, in order to get an intelligent conception of the work and its relative importance. Not less remarkable than the plea was the reply made by the Board which reversed its former action and practically granted all that he asked of it.

His own explanation is given in a foot-note to this correspondence :—

Memorandum.—In 1879, there were two parties in the Board of Home Missions ; the conservative, holding to the old methods and looking with suspicion upon the new movement (Woman's Executive Committee) of women ; and the progressive, who were in favour of the Woman's Executive Committee and believed in keeping the missionaries among the churches for the purpose of disseminating information.

When the above action was taken the conservatives were in the majority.

A few months later, the majority was reversed, and I was requested to address Eastern churches.

(Signed) SHELDON JACKSON.

The official action alluded to is as follows :—

At a meeting of the Board of Home Missions in New York, February 25, 1879, a communication was received from Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., explaining the action referred to in the resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Board ; whereupon it was on motion,

Resolved,—That the Board accept Dr. Jackson's explanation as satisfactory.

* * * * *

A vacation of two months was granted Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D.

(Signed) O. E. BOYD, Recording Secretary.

Another phase of opposition to Dr. Jackson, in the early development of the work in Alaska, grew out of a contested claim with respect to ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

For some time before and after the founding of the mission at Fort Wrangell the Presbytery of Oregon, regarding the territory of Alaska as a part of the Synod of Columbia, assumed the right to supervise and exercise control over the missionary work within its limits. It goes without saying that this active emissary of the Church at large, who had entered Alaska at a time when failure had been written upon every attempt to give the Gospel to its native population, and who was not in any way amenable to the direction or control of the Presbytery of Oregon, could hardly have shaped his course so as to avoid controversy or escape adverse criticism. Had he turned over the new mission, which he had established in the name of the Presbyterian Church, into the hands of Dr. Lindsley and his associates in the Oregon Presbytery and followed this with a withdrawal from the field, the contention as to jurisdiction would have ended at once. But where was the man among the busy pastors of that body of missionary workers, each intent upon the development of his own prescribed field, who could or would

have stood in the gap in this critical period and turned defeat and oft-repeated failure into victory and substantial success. In Mrs. McFarland's letters, all of which have been carefully preserved, there is abundant evidence that, next to God, her dependence was upon Sheldon Jackson for the means to support her in her arduous work and to enable her to continue the mission. But for his assurance of continued help and support, she would not have remained in the field. In its dealings with Mrs. McFarland, at the first, the Board seemed to recognize the claim of the Presbytery of Oregon, and deferred, as far as possible, to the judgment of its Standing Committee of Home Missions, but all the evidence in hand goes to show that it was nevertheless dependent upon Dr. Jackson for the securing of funds and the awakening of interest in behalf of Alaska. At a later date, when conflicting interests threatened the very existence of the mission, a careful examination of the enabling act under which the Synod of Columbia was erected was made ; and it was found that Alaska was not included within its distinctly defined boundaries. Strangely enough, the very existence of this far-away province as a possible addition to the ecclesiastical territory of the Presbyterian Church, seemed to be ignored or overlooked by the Assembly of 1876, when framing the utmost bounds of this great Synod of the Northwest. At this time, and for almost a decade preceding it, Alaska was in reality a "No-man's Land" in its relations to the Church : and the same might be said of its relations to the state, except in the matter of revenue and the recognition of a nominal allegiance to the government of the United States.

The relations of Sheldon Jackson to Alaska were also anomalous and without precedent. He undertook the work, in the first instance, because of the crying need of its long neglected people, on his *own* responsibility : and

for seven years of unremitting toil, during which he had no *official* connection with either mission or school, he laboured to the full extent of his ability in the interests of both. In the commission which he held from the Home Board, Alaska was not mentioned, nor included, during the whole of the above mentioned period, nor did he receive any additional salary as a compensation for the time, labour and expenses of travel he so freely and unselfishly gave to the opening up and development of the country in order that its native population might enjoy all the privileges and blessings of a Christian civilization.

In the heat of the contention relating to the question of jurisdiction, it was asserted by the Presbytery of Oregon that the mission at Fort Wrangell was successfully established before the first visit of Dr. Jackson. The writer has carefully examined all the evidence available, bearing upon this point, and can find no substantial basis for this claim. On the other hand, the Presbytery of Alaska, soon after its organization, prepared an "Official Sketch" of the rise and progress of its mission work, which harmonizes in all its details with the facts already given. At a later date, when these statements were again called in question, the presbytery in session at Sitka, July 15, 1895, reaffirmed the official account in the action following :—

Attention having been called to an article published in *The North and West*, of June 20, 1895, by the Rev. W. S. Holt, entitled "Authentic History of Alaskan Missions," the Presbytery of Alaska desire to reply that the said article is misleading and one-sided.

That while acknowledging the interest which Dr. A. L. Lindsley took in the establishment of missions in Alaska, they do not recognize him as the "founder of the Alaska Mission," as claimed by Mr. Holt.

Dr. Lindsley was but one of several gentlemen working at



PIONEER PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES IN ALASKA.

(For names see Appendix, page 482. Group 8.)

the same problem at the same time. And the Christian public is right in considering that the one who first commenced active work, and continuously pushed it on until the present time, is our co-presbyter, Dr. Sheldon Jackson.

It is conceded that if the facts of a man's life are wanted, that the man himself is the best authority as to those facts.

Having this in mind, the Presbytery of Alaska, at its first meeting, September 15, 1884, prepared and adopted, after full and careful consideration, an official statement of the rise and progress of the present work of the Presbyterian Church in Alaska.

The history was prepared by the pioneers of the presbytery, while all the first missionaries were still in Alaska, except the Rev. George W. Lyon, who was only here a few months, and every minister present at presbytery except one, and he, upon his return home signified his approval of the paper.

More than that, the historical statement was submitted to such of the lady missionaries as were present and had taken an active part in making the history.

See printed historical statement, entitled "The Presbyterian Church in Alaska, an Official Sketch of its Rise and Progress, 1877-1884, with the Minutes of the First Meeting of the Presbytery of Alaska, Sheldon Jackson, D. D., Stated Clerk. Press of Thomas McGill & Co., 1107 E Street, Washington, D. C., 1886."

Done in presbytery in session at Sitka, Alaska, this 15th day of July, 1895.

This historical sketch gives the following items also relating to the ecclesiastical connections of the territory of Alaska :—

In 1880, Rev. S. Hall Young and Rev. G. W. Lyon petitioned the General Assembly in session at Madison, Wis., to create the Presbytery of Alaska. This petition was joined in by Dr. Jackson. As there was not a sufficient number of ministers resident in Alaska to enable the assembly to create a presbytery, Rev. Dr. Jackson asked the Committee on Church Polity to recommend that Alaska be attached to the Presbytery of Puget Sound as the nearest presbytery, and Rev. Dr. Linds-

ley asked that it might be connected with the Presbytery of Oregon.

The committee recommended as follows :—

“ *Overture No. 6* is a memorial from S. Hall Young, George W. Lyon, and Sheldon Jackson, requesting that the General Assembly organize the Presbytery of Alaska to include all the territory of Alaska ; or, if this cannot be done, to place the ministers in Alaska in connection with the Presbytery of Puget Sound. The committee recommend that for the present no action be taken in these matters.”—*Minutes of General Assembly, 1880, page 44.*

On the 11th of May, 1881, the Presbytery of Oregon overtured the General Assembly at Buffalo, N. Y., to define the ecclesiastical relations of Alaska, laying claim to the jurisdiction, to which the General Assembly made the following response :—

“ That the territory of Alaska be *attached* to the Synod of the Columbia, who shall take orders in relation to the presbyterial connection of its ministers and churches.”—*Minutes of General Assembly, 1881, page 590.*

This shows that the General Assembly did not consider Alaska as already belonging to the synod, but as unorganized territory ; therefore, by its own power, the assembly attached it to the synod.

Alaska having been attached to the Synod of the Columbia by the General Assembly of 1881, and a sufficient number of ministers having moved into it to constitute a presbytery, the General Assembly of 1883, in session at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., May 25th, in response to the petitions of all the ministers in Alaska and an overture from the Presbytery of Oregon, created the Presbytery of Alaska.

Sheldon Jackson's vacation, which covered two months of the summer of 1879, was not a period of rest, in the usual acceptation of the term. It afforded him the opportunity to make a second visit to Alaska which he was anxious to improve to the utmost limit, and it was in reality one of the busiest and most fruitful periods of his active missionary life. The dominant thought in his mind at this time was to arouse the Church and the nation to a sense of responsibility for the welfare and enlightenment

of this benighted and almost forgotten land. With this object in view, he made an attempt to secure a representative of Congress and also of the Educational Department at Washington, to accompany him on this tour. The Hon. Stanley Matthews, and General Eaton, Commissioner of the National Bureau of Education, were very desirous of accepting his invitation, but as the time drew near for the journey both were hindered from carrying out their wishes. In his efforts to secure a representative of the Home Board and of the Woman's Missionary Association, he was more successful. The Board had an able representative in its veteran secretary, Dr. Henry Kendall. The Pacific coast had another, in Dr. A. L. Lindsley, of Portland, and the woman's department was represented by three of its most active supporters, in their several stations, Mrs. Sheldon Jackson, Mrs. Henry Kendall, and Mrs. A. L. Lindsley. Miss M. J. Dunbar, a missionary teacher under commission of the Board, joined the party *en route* and travelled with them to Fort Wrangell. The arrival of this company of interested friends was hailed with joy by the missionaries and the native Christians. A warm welcome was extended to them at every point which they were able to visit. "This was particularly the case," writes one of the party, "with Dr. Kendall. No late event has so favourably impressed the Indians as this visit of Dr. Kendall. Of commanding personal presence, one of the secretaries of a Board that has its thousand men stretching from Alaska to Florida, coming from the shores of a distant ocean to inquire after their welfare, bringing the money raised by Dr. Jackson to erect the Girls' Industrial Home, it is no wonder that the Indians recognized him as the 'Great Chief.' One after another, their chiefs and leading men called to see him and express their pleasure at his visit; one with great earnestness remarking that he had not slept all night

for joy. The missionaries, too, were greatly encouraged by his visit to this field. His large experience and wise counsels solved for them many a knotty problem. His patience and kindness in entering into the details of their difficulties and trials, his large sympathies, greatly endeared him to them; while his hopefulness encouraged their hearts, strengthened their hands, and stimulated them to fresh zeal in the work."

The success of the lone mission, established in the face of so many difficulties and discouragements, nearly two years before the date of this visit, had more than justified the expectation, and rewarded the labours of its courageous founder and promoter.

During this brief period, two important stations had been occupied, the missionary force had been increased, including Miss Dunbar, from one to six; and a fund, approximating \$12,000, had been secured for the building of the home and the support of the missionaries on the field.

The following extracts from the letters of leading missionaries in the field during this period, show how closely Dr. Jackson was related to every movement contributing to the success of the mission and how highly he was esteemed and appreciated by them for his work's sake.

Under date of February 11, 1879, the Rev. S. Hall Young, missionary at Fort Wrangell, writes:—

"We feel encouraged about the home. *Thanks, many, many thanks for your noble efforts on behalf of our mission.*" Later, March 11th, he adds:—"Your letter of February 15th has caused great rejoicing at the mission. Our hopes now have eagle's wings. God is better than our fears. The future that this mission merits seems likely now to be at least proximately realized. And to you, under God, we give hearty thanks as the kind instrument of this change for the better in our prospects. You have our gratitude far beyond any other man.

You have proved yourself an unselfish, self-sacrificing, earnest friend of Alaska and its missions. We are all your firm and grateful friends, and pray always for your success and welfare."

About the same time Mrs. McFarland writes :—

There has been a song in my heart ever since the mail arrived bringing us the news of the noble response to the call in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*. . . . I am sure the mission owes everything to *you*. I pray God you may come to us this summer.

Similar testimony is given, under date of March 21, 1879, by the Rev. John G. Brady, the first missionary sent out by the Board to the Alaskan field :—

You have done more than any one in stirring up an interest in Alaska. Nearly all the funds which have been raised must be accredited to your zeal. I am glad to know that General Eaton, Dr. Kendall, and yourself contemplate a visit to Alaska this summer. Your report of affairs cannot but have a good effect upon the public mind.

At a later date,—August 11, 1881,—Mr. Brady wrote :—

It was you who first brought the needs of Alaska to my mind and urged my going into the mission work in this field. This was in November, 1877, soon after you had returned from your first visit to the territory. It is my belief that you have done more to interest the sympathy of Christian people in behalf of these natives than all others put together. To deny your great service, is simply to shut one's eyes against the light. It is hard to understand why some brethren should so persistently and bitterly antagonize you and your efforts to establish and support missions in this abused land.

The service which Dr. Jackson rendered to the natives of Alaska was not limited to missionary work on their behalf alone. From the date of his first visit he sought interviews with members of Congress and wrote letters to

influential representative men of the nation, as well as appeals in the public press,—urging the establishment of public schools and the formation of a provisional government for the administration of justice and the protection of life and property. With a view to securing a basis for Congressional action, Drs. Kendall and Jackson were requested by Hon. Carl Shurz, Secretary of the Interior, to collect information bearing upon the condition and necessities of the native population and report the same to the officials of that department. A semi-official character was thus given to the expedition, and in order to facilitate its work in the regions beyond the ordinary routes of travel, it was ordered by the Secretary of the Treasury,—John Sherman,—that transportation should be furnished to the party from Sitka to Kodiack and return, on the revenue cutter *Rush*. For some reason, as it afterwards appeared, this vessel did not make the trip, as anticipated, that season, and this part of the programme was not carried out. The report was made, however, with respect to the conditions of the sections actually visited, on their return, and in due time it did become a basis for favourable Congressional action.

A memorable event in connection with this visit was the organization of the native Christians, at Fort Wrangell, into a Presbyterian church, the first Protestant church of Alaska. For several months preceding, Mr. Young, the missionary in charge, had carefully instructed them in a special class with respect to the nature and duties of church-membership, and the preparatory examinations were searching and thorough.

At the time appointed for the service, August 3d, in the presence of the visiting ministers and their wives and a large assembly of whites and Indians, twenty-three persons, eighteen of whom were natives, were received and welcomed as the basis of this new organization. The fol-

lowing Sabbath, five additional members, four of whom were Indians, were received upon profession of their faith. At the former service, Dr. Kendall preached the sermon, Dr. Jackson offered the constituting prayer, the Rev. S. Hall Young welcomed and baptized the new members, Dr. Lindsley read the covenant of membership, and the Rev. W. H. R. Corlies, M. D., pronounced the benediction. Two carpenters working on the church building and the home, were among the number received upon confession of their faith.

Under the leadership of Drs. Jackson and Kendall, the arrangements for the construction of the mission buildings at Wrangell, including the church and the home, were made as rapidly as the necessary materials could be procured. "No one," says Dr. Jackson, "that has not tried building a thousand miles from a hardware store and a hundred miles from a sawmill, in a community where there was not a horse, wagon, or cart, and but one wheelbarrow, can realize the vexatious delays incident to such a work. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the house of worship was occupied for services on Sabbath, October 5th, and the home was enclosed before the rigour of the winter season put an end to outside work.

The arrival of a large canoe from the Chilcat country, loaded with furs, and bound for Fort Simpson, suggested to the alert leader of the party, while at Fort Wrangell, the possibility of extending his exploration tour to the mission stations of the Methodist and Episcopal churches at Fort Simpson and Metlahkatlah, in British Columbia. The canoe which made its appearance in the harbour at a time so favourable for this journey, was about thirty-five feet long, five wide, and three feet in depth, and was manned by eighteen Indians. Twelve of this number were pagans of the Chilcat tribe, one of whom was a chief, and another a medicine-man. The rest of the crew

were Christian Indians from Fort Simpson, and, through their influence, Sheldon Jackson had no difficulty in arranging for the journey. A comfortable seat was allotted to him in the centre of the boat, with blanket and provisions within easy reach. Thus surrounded by natives, all of whom were strangers and unable to communicate with him except by signs, this faithful missionary of the Cross faced a new and untried experience of travel for a distance of 250 miles, through tossing waves and swelling surf and dripping fogs, with the hope of reaching the lost in other tribes, among whom Christ had not been so much as named.

Frequently along the way, he tells us, the Chilcat Indians would break out into singing one of their national airs, to cheer the rowers. This would challenge the Christian Indians, who would follow with a number of the precious hymns of Bliss and Sankey.

One evening, after a large number of these had been sung, the old chief and shaman inquired, "Who is this Jesus you sing about?" Then the Tsimpsean Indians gladly preached Jesus unto them. These Christian Indians carry their religion with him wherever they go. They were now returning from a voyage of over a thousand miles. They had been on the way for weeks, but neither wind nor tide nor hunger, nor persuasion of their pagan companions, could induce them to travel on the Lord's day.

On this voyage, which occupied six days, but little time was taken for rest or sleep, and every advantage of favouring wind and weather was utilized to cover the most exposed portions of the treacherous watery way which lay before them. One day's work, for lack of a suitable landing-place, covered twenty-three consecutive hours. The bill of fare during this journey consisted of "biscuit and salmon for breakfast and supper, and salmon

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN PRESBYTERIAN

Sheldon Jackson, Editor.

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1. Facsimile of the heading of the R. Mt. Pres. (reduced size).
2. A week's canoe voyage along the stormy coast of Alaska.
3. Ice-bound in the Arctic Ocean on the U. S. R. Cutter Bear.

and biscuit for dinner." But the Indians on the trip only averaged one meal in twenty-four hours. "One evening," says Dr. Jackson, "we passed Cape Fox, and boldly launched out to cross an arm of the sea, and, once out, it was as dangerous to turn back as to go forward. The night was dark, the waves rolling high, and the storm upon us. One Indian stood upon the prow of the canoe, watching the waves and giving orders. Every paddler was at his place, and the stroke of his paddle kept time with the measured song of the leader, who kept time with the roll of the waves, mounting each wave with two strokes of the paddle. Then with a click, each paddle would, at the same instant, strike the side of the canoe and remain motionless, gathering strength for the next two strokes, as the billow would strike the canoe, causing it to quiver from stem to stern. It was a long, tedious night that in the rain and fog and darkness, we tossed in this frail canoe upon the waters, but daylight found us at an Indian village near the now deserted site of Fort Tongas."

At this place, Sheldon Jackson had a brief conference with Kimcoe, a chief of the Tongas tribe who pleaded earnestly for a Christian teacher for his people. The last day's voyage is thus described :

"The wind had been against us all the way from Fort Wrangell. It had rained more or less each day we had been out, and the storm had continued to increase in violence. Some of the Indians being so exhausted by the labours of the past night that they dropped asleep at their paddles, it was thought best to go ashore and get some rest. On shore, we tried to start a fire, but the driving rain soon extinguished it. Taking my regulation meal of salmon and hard-tack, I spread my blankets under a big log and tried to sleep. The beating storm soon saturated the blankets, and I awoke to find the water running

down my back. Rising, I paced up and down the beach until the Indians were ready to move on. After a rest of two hours, seeing no signs of a lull in the storm, we re-embarked, determined, if possible, to make Fort Simpson. That afternoon, cold, wet and hungry, we ran into the harbour at Simpson, and received a warm welcome from Mr. Crosby and the native Christians." During his stay at this mission, Dr. Jackson had a conference, or "council," as the Indians term it, with two chiefs of the Chilcat tribe, who declared their desire to give up their heathen practices and learn the better way, as soon as a teacher should be sent to them. A similar request for help was made by a delegation of Tongas. Thus the way was prepared, through danger, exposure and unusual hardships for a fuller development of the work in Alaska.

A few years later, Sheldon Jackson had the privilege of receiving into the church some of his fellow voyagers of the Chilcat tribe. One of them was accompanied by his son, a lad of ten or twelve years. Afterwards, this boy was educated at Sitka, and Dr. Jackson had the joy of receiving him into the church on confession of his faith. This boy, Rudolph Walton, is a successful manufacturer of native jewelry. He owns a jewelry store in Sitka, and for many years has been an active ruling elder in the native church of that place.

From Fort Simpson, the journey was continued by canoe to Metlahkatlah.

At both of these points, our missionary explorer had overwhelming evidence of the transforming power of the Gospel among these long-neglected natives, as well as of their eagerness to receive the knowledge of the way of life. And with intensified zeal he returned to arouse the Church and the nation, to the intent that a similar work should be attempted among the benighted inhabitants on the American side of the line, in Alaska.

Referring to this tour and its immediate results, the editor of the *New York Observer* wrote :—

Among all the enterprising, pushing, and successful pioneers in aggressive work, our friend Sheldon Jackson is one of the best and bravest. He has been named "Bishop of the Outside World," "Apostle to them that have no other teacher," and he deserves the titles. In a recent trip to Alaska, with thirteen Indians, he made a canoe voyage of two hundred and fifty miles along the coast, in order to visit some Indian villages that he could not reach by steamer. Writing to us, in a private letter, he said : "You haven't seen the world until you have visited this wonderful North Pacific coast. Bayard Taylor or yourself could adequately describe it, and I think it would tax your ready pen and descriptive powers to the utmost."

During this and the preceding tour, Dr. Jackson collected much valuable information at first hand, relating to the country and its native population, which was published in book form in the spring of 1880, under the title, "Alaska and its Mission on the North Pacific Coast." ¹ This work, the first of its kind, aroused much interest in this wonder-land of the Northwest, and was one of the most potent influences exerted at that time in its opening up and development along the lines of mission women and Christian civilization. It was a timely contribution, also, to the work of the then recently organized forces operating under the direction of the Woman's Executive Committee ; and it soon found its way into the libraries of its auxiliary societies as a book of reference and a stimulus to its workers all over the land.

¹ Published by Dodd Mead and Company, New York.

XV

EXTENSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORK AMONG THE EXCEPTIONAL POPULATION (1882-1885)

“The steps of faith fall on the seeming void,
And find the rock beneath.”

— *Whittier.*

BY force of circumstances, as well as by the clear indications of providential guidance, Sheldon Jackson became the Apostle of the exceptional population of the Rocky Mountains and Alaska. The organization of the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions furnished the long-desired agency for the prosecution of this work, and with hearty enthusiasm he presented its cause and sought to extend its area of influence. While he was not officially designated or commissioned for work in Alaska from 1877 to 1884, he was recognized by the Church, and also by the Home Board, as the efficient leader of those who were labouring in its interests, and the able advocate of their cause. In this work, he had also the sanction and encouragement of the secretaries of the Board, and, as a matter of fact, was the recognized agent of the Woman's Executive Committee in the securing of funds and in the founding and establishment of all the mission stations in Alaska. In the General Assembly of 1880, he was introduced by the moderator, at a mass meeting in the interests of home missions, as “a missionary bishop whose diocese is greater than the ancient dominion of Alexander.” This was literally true at the time, but in accordance with his earnest request—

a request which heretofore had not been favourably acted upon—arrangements were already being made for a division of his field. The rapid growth of the presbyteries and the disappearance of the frontier lines in some of the sections under his care, made it necessary for a readjustment of the old relations; and in the allotment of work he accepted by preference that portion of his field which included the Indian tribes and the newer missions which he had established among the native population of the territory of New Mexico. From the date of this readjustment, Dr. Jackson's work was mainly in the interests of the woman's work. With the modest title of "Missionary" on the face of his commission—which meant to one reading between the lines—*missionary at large*, he looked after the interests of New Mexico and Alaska from October, 1879, to January, 1882. During this period he also delivered hundreds of addresses, secured funds in ever-growing measure for all departments and phases of the woman's work; wrote personal letters to every member of Congress, asking their influence in securing schools and an organized form of government for Alaska; edited the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*—then the organ of the Woman's Executive Committee; represented the Home Board in arranging with the government for contract schools among the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountains; and, as already noted, acted as agent for the government in collecting Indian children for the industrial schools at Hampton and Carlisle.

At its regular fall meeting, in 1879, the Presbytery of Puget Sound, which occupied the nearest territory to the Alaskan field, took the following action:—

Resolved,—That the Presbytery of Puget Sound, while recording its thanks to Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., for the great interest manifested by him in the mission work of Alaska, requests

the Board of Home Missions to send him to Washington City, with instructions to prosecute the claims of the natives of Alaska before the Department of the Interior for a share of the fund annually expended in the maintenance of industrial boarding-schools among the Indian tribes of the United States.

This request was evidently in line with his efforts which took definite shape and were characterized by his usual directness and persistence, about the beginning of the year 1880.

While in Washington City, on this errand, a public reception was given to Dr. Jackson and the Hon. A. B. Meacham, the well-known advocate of the humane policy towards the Indians, at the headquarters of the National Greenback Press Association on the evening of January 26th.

"The rooms," says a newspaper correspondent, "were crowded with representative men and women, including large numbers of senators and members of the House. Able speeches were made by Dr. Jackson on Alaska; by Col. Meacham on the true Indian policy; also by Col. W. P. Adair, Gen. Pleasant Porter, and delegates from the Cherokee and Creek nations, respectively. The Indians are men of great ability and superior culture and they were listened to with as much interest as were the distinguished speakers of the white race, who made the principal speeches of the evening. Dr. Jackson's description of Alaska, of its size, being equal to the states lying north of the Ohio and south of the Mississippi River, with a coast line of 25,000 miles, etc., etc.,—was very interesting. His purpose is to secure the passage of a bill organizing Alaska into a territory. This should be done at once."

With the opening of the year 1881, the name of the missionary paper which he founded, and had edited since 1871, was changed from the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* to *Presbyterian Home Missions*, in order to indicate the

wider scope of its mission as the organ of the Woman's Executive Committee.

In the midst of all the varied activities which claimed his attention, and in the face of many discouragements and disappointments, Sheldon Jackson was ever mindful of the promise he had made to the pagan chiefs in Alaska, while on his canoe voyage to Fort Simpson ; and with patient persistency he sought for the men and pleaded for the money to fulfill this promise. In the spring of 1881, he saw his way clear, with the tacit assent of the Home Board, to begin the establishment of these missions. There seems to have been no objection from any quarter at the time to this undertaking ; nor to the visit to Alaska, which he proposed to take in order to carry it out. One of the missionaries who offered himself for this field was the Rev. Eugene S. Willard, a graduate of the Western Theological Seminary, class of 1881. He with his wife and child took the June steamer for Fort Wrangell, and arrived at Sitka on the 10th of the same month.

Dr. Jackson arrived on the July steamer, and soon afterwards accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Willard to the almost unknown country of the Chilcat tribes, where a station was established at a suitable site and called "Haines," in honour of Mrs. F. E. Haines, the efficient secretary of the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions. Says Mrs. Julia McNair Wright in her description of the founding of this mission :—

None of the footprints of civilization greeted the eyes of these newcomers at Haines : they entered into a wilderness—a tribe of Indians, a few Indian houses, the short summer wearing away, drawing on apace a winter, when there would be five months of deep snow. In December, the day from sunrise to sunset would be but four hours long. When they were left at the station by the last trading boat in autumn, they need look

for no boats, no white faces, no mails, no supplies of any kind, until five or six months had passed. Here was isolation, and the spirit that braved it was high heroism. The Board of Missions, having no funds for the erection of the necessary buildings at Haines, Dr. Jackson borrowed money and erected a house for the Willards. Upon his return to the East, in connection with the Woman's Executive Committee, he raised the money to repay the loan.

Referring to this, and other acts of kindness, Mrs. Willard writes under date of August 27, 1881 :—

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER :—

I cannot refrain from dropping you a note of thanks, although words are so feeble to express our appreciation of what you have done for us—under God, you have done everything for us. In the first place, you gained for us our hearts' desire, the appointment to preach glad tidings to the Chilcats. You advised and encouraged us by the way. We left home with the expectation of living in a tent until we could by our own labour put up a log house. This exposure your loving zeal and wise energy have prevented by taking upon your shoulders a burden which I trust will soon be removed by an interested people at home. The financial burden I mean, for you have borne so much more than that in the planning and erecting the building, which has given us such a comfortable home in this far-away land. Your coming with us, too, and introducing us to the very chiefs to whom you had first promised a teacher years ago, has, I am sure, been most advantageous to the beginning of our work here. And your counsel and advice have been most helpful and comforting to us. That God may bless you more and more abundantly in your labours of love is the prayer, with thanksgiving, of your grateful sister in Christ.

(Signed) CARRIE M. WILLARD.

There are few names more deserving of mention and of high honour among the pioneer missionaries of Alaska than the name of the brave little woman who wrote these words. In the years which followed, she cheerfully endured privations, sufferings, the oppositions and super-

stitutions of the ignorant natives, and the cares and anxieties incident to an outbreak of smallpox, which entered her own home and prostrated her little daughter, while at the same time her husband was alarmingly ill, and unable to assist her in any way. Through this trying experience, and until Mr. Willard was able to help, there was no one to give efficient aid and no physician or nurse to be obtained within a hundred miles. Before the year closed, Mrs. Willard was also laid aside by a serious illness, which for a time threatened her life: and had it not been for the prompt assistance given by friends in Sitka, who heard of her condition and arranged for her removal to that place for medical treatment, all human remedies would soon have been unavailing.

Undeterred by the extraordinary experiences of trial and suffering, through which she had passed, Mrs. Willard returned after her recovery to the mission at Haines, where with her husband she laboured in the midst of privations and perils with renewed ardour and signal success for a period of twelve years. Her knowledge of medicine and nursing gave her much influence among the people to whom she ministered, and with remarkable facility she acquired the Thlinget language and soon learned to talk it perfectly.¹ Mrs. J. McNair Wright records the fact that during the first year in which the Willards occupied this station, the chief, Don-a-wauk, who was one of the first to receive Christian baptism, influenced the whole village of Tindestak, where he held rule, to move down to the mission station, in order to have the privilege of attending school and of learning how to be good. "The village consisted of sixteen buildings and 172 people. The houses abandoned at Tindestak had cost the Indians much, and to build new ones at

¹ A very interesting account of this mission is given by Mrs. Willard in one of her books, entitled "Life in Alaska."

Haines would cost much more. These people were really abandoning all things for the sake of learning about Christ."

While the mission houses were being erected at Haines, in the summer of 1881, Dr. Jackson, accompanied by Mr. Willard and the Rev. Mr. Corlies, made a tour of exploration through the Chilcat country, including all the villages of the Chilcat and Chilcoot tribes. During this tour, a second mission was located at Klukwau, one of the Chilcat villages. To this village two pupils of the Fort Wrangell school, Louis and Tillie Paul, who had just been married, were sent in the spring of 1882 to open a school and hold the ground until a missionary could be obtained.

On the 5th of August Drs. Jackson and Corlies visited some of the villages of the Hoonah tribe and located a mission among them. Returning southward, he visited the villages of the Hydah Indians, on Prince of Wales Island, and located a mission at Howkan.

The immediate results of this missionary tour are thus summed up in a Portland paper :—

Dr. Sheldon Jackson, who introduced the first Protestant missionaries into Southeastern Alaska, was a passenger down on the steamer *Los Angeles*. This is the doctor's third trip in that section. On this trip he established new missions among the Hydahs and Hoonahs, located three mission families, erected substantial buildings at the Chilcat and Hoonah stations, and fitted up a schoolhouse at Hydah. He visited fifteen Indian villages, and preached in the majority of them. The trip among the villages was mostly in canoes.

The visit to the Hydahs was made in a canoe and the distance travelled in this frail vessel off a coast proverbially storm-swept, was estimated at five hundred miles. For this arduous, perilous, timely, and eminently successful work, which gave to the Presbyterian Church

the whole domain of Southeastern Alaska, and reflected much honour upon it, as the pioneer Church in this far-away land, Dr. Jackson was not even allowed the reimbursement of his travelling expenses from the treasury of the Board. It was a labour of love on his part, not authorized, strictly speaking, by the terms of his commission, but undertaken, as were several of his ventures in the past, without regard to financial considerations or merely technical limitations. With him, the great commission took precedence over all other commissions, and the voice of opportunity was the call to duty.

After his return from this journey, Dr. Jackson transferred the ownership of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, later known as *Presbyterian Home Missions*, with its now greatly augmented list of subscribers, as a free gift to the Board of Home Missions. The announcement of this transfer was made in the December number of the paper :

“With the present number, this paper becomes the property of the Board of Home Missions. It is a consummation which we have long looked forward to with interest. A special committee of the Board has had the matter under advisement for a year past.

“The *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* was commenced in March, 1871, with the design of bringing the Presbyterians of the territories where we were then labouring into close sympathy with each other and the Church. For this purpose, we hired two pages of a small monthly paper, edited by the Rev. Wm. T. Wylie, of Bellefonte, Pa. Once started, the plan grew and enlarged until, in January, 1873, it was made a medium of communication between the home mission churches of the West and the giving churches of the East, and its publication was removed to the office of Messrs. J. G. Monfort & Co., publishers of the *Herald and Presbyterian*, Cincinnati, Ohio. Their moderate charges and kindly assistance enabled us

both to continue its publication and improve its quality. In 1879, it became the organ of the newly-formed Woman's Executive Committee, and from them received a large increase in circulation. In 1880, it was changed to its present form, and in 1881 to its present name. The editorial office, for the ten years of its existence, has been the satchel of the proprietor, the copy of contents being mailed to the printing office from wherever he happened to be at the time. Consequently, some copies have been prepared in Alaska, others in New Mexico, Montana, Arizona, Oregon, New York, Utah, Illinois, California, or Colorado. After mailing the copy, we had no opportunity of revising the proof or arranging the paper. And if at any time sufficient copy was not sent, the foreman of the office would fill up with his own selections. In this way, articles have been frequently inserted that would not have been allowed if we could have supervised the making-up of the paper. We worked under great disadvantages, and the wonder is that more mistakes were not made. It was a labour of love to the cause, and we did the best we could under the circumstances. To the many Christian workers who have sent us words of encouragement and substantial assistance, we return thanks. The success of the paper demonstrated the need of an out-and-out home mission paper. If the Board had had such an organ the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* would not have been started. And, when started, it was pushed to success, that the Board might be encouraged to take a forward movement, and establish what has long been called for,—a wide-awake paper of its own. This has now been done, and it gives me great pleasure to make the Church a present of the paper, its good-will and subscription list.

“(Signed) SHELDON JACKSON.

“December, 1881.”

The reception of this gift was thus announced by the secretaries of the Board, December 8th :—

The Board of Home Missions, feeling the need of an organ of their own to furnish the Church with the information called for regarding the wants and prospects of their work, have adopted the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* as theirs. Dr. Jackson, its late editor and proprietor, has very generously given the paper, with its list of subscribers, without cost to the Board, and retires from its editorship. The Board will continue the paper in an enlarged and improved form, under the name of the *Presbyterian Home Missionary*, holding itself responsible for the views and sentiments expressed in the editorials, and as far as possible in the correspondence.

While the secretaries of the Home Board assumed this responsibility, they were too much overburdened already to do justice to the interests represented by this publication, and hence it was necessary to secure an assistant at the outset, who could take in the whole field and make it a conspicuous success. The man of all others whom they regarded as specially qualified for this work was its late editor and owner ; and him they called from the position he had so long held on the frontier line, to serve the Church and the Board in this capacity. While this was nominally the object of his removal to the headquarters of the Board, in New York City, it was understood that he would have the privilege, as opportunity was afforded him, to plead the cause of the Woman's Executive Committee, and also to look after that part of its work which it had undertaken at his suggestion, and was now rapidly developing, in behalf of the natives of Alaska. In view of the exceptional opportunity thus afforded to scan the whole field from this central watch tower behind the lines, and the freedom it gave him to exercise his gifts in behalf of those who had hitherto looked to him for help,

Sheldon Jackson accepted this call and for a time removed with his family to the East.

The date of his transfer to this new department of labour was January 1, 1882, but for some weeks previously he had been at work on the January issue of the paper, in anticipation of the change.

There were few men at this time who were better known throughout the Church, and his voice has been heard in every section of the land. In the prosecution of his work, from 1869 to 1882, he had delivered over *nineteen hundred missionary addresses* and had travelled nearly *three hundred and fifty thousand miles*. In the various assemblies of the Church, of the National and State Educational Associations, at public conventions and schools of instruction, such as Chautauqua, Mohonk, Asbury Park, Ocean Grove, and Washington City, he was honoured as an authority in matters relating to the vast territories he had explored. And the plea which he everywhere made for the relief of the degraded and perishing wards of the nation in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska stirred the hearts and awakened the sympathies of thousands who had been lukewarm or indifferent.

His official status at this time is indicated in the report of a special committee of the Board which was adopted in 1882:—

The committee would respectfully recommend that the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., be commissioned as the “business manager” of the *Presbyterian Home Missionary*; that the commission date from October 1, 1882; that his salary after January 1, 1883, be at the rate of \$2,000 per annum, and that the Woman’s Executive Committee be requested to provide one-fourth of his salary.

One of the most valuable adjuncts of the mission at Sitka was an industrial school for boys, which had been opened in an abandoned building belonging to the gov-

ernment, in November, 1880. This school was burned to the ground on the 24th of January, 1882.

It was the first home of its kind for the Indian boys of Alaska, and several of the young lads, who had enjoyed its privileges, joined in a request to the Home Board, with the missionaries and some of the influential residents of Sitka, for its rebuilding as soon as possible. This request was given wide publicity by Dr. Jackson, and when the Woman's Executive Committee promptly decided to undertake the work of rebuilding, he "took the rostrum" on their behalf, and by the first of August following had secured for this purpose the sum of \$5,000. With this in hand, he set out on his fourth missionary journey to Alaska. On his arrival at Sitka, in the early days of September, he selected a new location for the building on a desirable plot of ground, donated for this purpose by his friend, John G. Brady, and supervised its erection. While the location was an ideal one, on a bluff, thirty feet above high tide, the surface of the ground was covered with stumps, and it required the work of one hundred natives for many days to remove the stumps and grade the land. Some months before, lumber had been ordered at the nearest sawmill—175 miles away—but at the last moment information came that the mill had broken down and that no lumber could be expected from it for at least a year. Learning that the winter before a large cannery, six miles north of Sitka, had been destroyed by the crushing in of its roof with a heavy fall of snow, Dr. Jackson purchased the wrecked building as it lay on the rocks, a tangled, broken, splintered mass, and, with the assistance of Mr. Brady, at once organized a large force of natives, camped out at the wreck, rescued and assorted such lumber as was worth saving and then rafted it down the coast to Sitka and erected the new building. It was 50 x 100 feet

in dimensions and three stories high, including an attic.

In the supervision of this work, Dr. Jackson was on the ground many days for twelve hours a day. At this season of the year, the rains at Sitka are almost continuous, pleasant days being the exception, and most of the time it was necessary for him to change his dripping garments at noon, just before dinner, and again before supper, at the close of the day. As winter drew on, he sometimes had a force of 200 men at work.

Upon several occasions, the commanding officer of the United States Steamer, *Jamestown*, at anchor in the harbour, sent fifty or more marines ashore with their officers, to help in roofing the house. Thus the building erected from the fragments of a wrecked salmon cannery in the midst of the rainy season was at length completed and has served as a "Home" for the mission family at Sitka, and one hundred scholars of both sexes from that date (1882) until the present time. The entire cost was about \$7,000.

During the summer of 1883, Dr. Jackson entered into a contract with the officials of the United States Post-Office Department to supply the stations at Haines, Shakan, Klawack, and Howkan with a monthly mail, to be carried by Indians in canoes. This was the first mail service established in Alaska, between the stations on, or near, the coast. But for this timely mode of intercommunication the Board would have been obliged to give up its more remote stations. Thus in various ways this early and constant friend of Alaska found time, in the midst of pressing cares, to strengthen and develop the good work already begun within its borders. On his return to the East, he laboured earnestly, as he had opportunity, to arouse the authorities at Washington to a sense of their obligations towards its needy and de-

pendent people. By correspondence and personal interviews, he secured the coöperation and support of such able advocates as Joseph Cook, Wendell Phillips, President Bicknell, of the National Educational Association; United States Senators Harrison, Teller, Joseph R. Hawley; and Representatives James, Johnson, and Ellis. Benjamin Harrison was a warm personal friend, as well as a wise and judicious advocate, and, to his influence mainly, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, the long desired legislation and appropriations to carry it out were eventually secured. Dr. Jackson also appeared before committees of the Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth Congresses, and pleaded his cause in person.

In this aggressive campaign, he enlisted the sympathies and secured the coöperation of active men and women in the various churches, missionary societies, and educational associations of the country. In his report for 1883, the Commissioner of Education says:—

Dr. Jackson held public meetings in many of the leading cities and many of the prominent towns from the Pacific to the Atlantic, delivering from 1878 to 1884 about nine hundred addresses upon Alaska. On March 23, 1882, he delivered an address before the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, which was printed by this Bureau, in Circular of Information No. 2, 1882. Of this circular, three editions have been called for, making an aggregate of 60,000 copies.

During the summer of 1883, he visited the twenty-second annual meeting of the National Educational Association of the United States, the second National Educational Assembly, and the State Teachers' Association of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, each of which passed strong resolutions asking Congress to provide a school system for Alaska. Through these meetings, the teachers whom they represented became interested, and thousands of petitions, scattered from Maine to Texas and from Florida to Oregon, were

sent to congressmen asking for schools for Alaska. He also secured the hearty coöperation of the missionary societies of the Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, Episcopal, Moravian, and Presbyterian Churches.

In the summer of 1883, all the missionaries at Sitka, Fort Wrangell, and the stations in the Chilcat country, eleven in number, united in a request to the Board of Home Missions, for the appointment of Sheldon Jackson as superintendent of missions in Alaska. This would have been an acceptable appointment to him at the time, for his heart was in the work along the frontier line, but the Board declined to make it.

In the spring of 1884, he was tendered an appointment for service as "Missionary to the church and congregation" of Sitka, Alaska, dating from April 1st. This he accepted, and from this date severed his connection with the *Presbyterian Home Missionary*.

Technically, the designation on the face of this appointment limited his field to one location, and gave him no official authority to act for the country as a whole, but this did not hinder him from labouring zealously, as before, in behalf of all its educational and religious interests. The General Assembly of the same year adopted the following complimentary statement with respect to the management of the paper during his term of service :—

Gladly recognizing the skillful management which has so soon secured to the *Presbyterian Home Missionary* a circulation of 28,000 copies, and so certainly rendered it necessary to every one that would have an intelligent conception of our home mission work, we believe that it can now be made self-supporting. Accordingly, the Board is instructed to advance its minimum subscription price to fifty cents per annum.

This assembly, in one of its sessions, "declared it to be the purpose of the Church to call the work within the bounds of the United States 'Home Work,' and to give to the Foreign Board the charge of the work outside this boundary."

On its face, this seems to be a very simple solution of a problem growing out of the advance of the Church into new and hitherto unoccupied territory, but there have been few questions at issue in relation to its activities which have so sadly disturbed its peace or alienated the minds of its faithful workers. This decision, which was reached after more than a decade of unnecessary strife and contention, led to the transfer of all the work among the Indians to the Home Board and amply justified the far-seeing policy which was advocated by Sheldon Jackson from the first. The efficient agency to which was committed the great work outside the borders of the United States, found ample scope, from the date of this transfer, for all its activities and energies in its world-wide field ; while the Woman's Executive Committee, with its ever-increasing force of labourers, ministered to the spiritual wants of the ignorant and needy among the exceptional population, which, by the ordering of God's providence, had now come within the bounds and under the care of the several presbyteries and synods. From this date, also, it assumed the responsibility and rose to the dignity of a work of continental magnitude, in behalf of the spiritually destitute of all races, nationalities, and shades of colour within the uttermost borders of our national domain.

The church of Sitka, temporarily under the care of Mr. Alonzo E. Austin, a ruling elder who was active in evangelistic work, was visited with a remarkable revival of religion during the winter and spring of 1884, and, as a result, about fifty persons, including nearly all the older

pupils of the school, were brought to Christ. This encouraging situation and the granting of Dr. Jackson's request about the same time, for an appropriation of \$15,000 from the government of the United States, to be expended in the enlargement of the industrial school at Sitka were doubtless determining factors in the acceptance of the appointment to the church and congregation at that place.

On the 14th of May, 1884, the House of Representatives passed the Senate bill providing a civil government for Alaska. It was signed by President Arthur three days later.

In this enactment, the Secretary of the Interior was directed to make needful and proper provision for the education of children of school age in the territory, without reference to race, until such time as permanent provision should be made for the same, and the sum of \$25,000 was appropriated for this purpose.

Thus, after *seventeen* years of neglect and delay, a limited form of territorial government was provided for Alaska, and an apportionment far below the amount indicated by the framers of the bill, but still sufficient for a beginning, if faithfully administered, was made for the establishment of a public school system. Happily for the interests of this far-away northland, Sheldon Jackson was, at length, appointed to inaugurate the work and administer this fund. This appointment was not made, however, until nearly a year after the passage of the enabling act. Meanwhile, he looked after the interests of the congregation at Sitka, which, as yet, was in a formative shape, and needed a leader of experience and good judgment. Thither he removed with his family during the summer and was enrolled with the missionary force of the country.

With a view to the awakening of interest in Southeastern Alaska and its missions, Dr. Jackson accepted an appointment as general manager of a large excursion,

which was made up mainly from delegates in attendance upon the National Educational Society, which met that year at Madison, Wisconsin, July 15th-18th. With his usual promptness and accuracy of detail all the arrangements for the comfort and safe conduct of the party were made beforehand. The excursion party, which he accompanied on the journey to Alaska, included visits to the interesting Christian village of Metlahkatlah, in British Columbia, and many points of special interest in Southeastern Alaska. Dr. Bicknell, the president of the association, thus expresses his appreciation of this favour at a later date :—

Boston, Mass., December 3, 1884.

MY DEAR DR. JACKSON :—

Alaska is in my thoughts to-night as I am refreshing my mind for two lectures next week on "The Land of the Midnight Sun," and when Alaska comes up you are also uppermost, for you have done more than all others to bring the land and its people to the thought of the world. Our trip was a wonderful one, and I shall never sufficiently express my gratitude to you, that you opened the way and led the enterprise to such a successful issue last summer. All were delighted with the journey, and have the most enthusiastic words for all that was seen and heard. How much I admire your self-sacrifice for that far-off people. . . .

Sincerely yours,

T. W. BICKNELL.

On the 7th of September, Sheldon Jackson, assisted by the Rev. Eugene S. Willard and Mr. Alonzo E. Austin, organized the First Presbyterian Church of Sitka, with a communicant membership of forty-four natives, received on confession of faith, and five by letter from the families residing in Sitka. At this time, Mr. Austin, who had been labouring here as an evangelist with much acceptance, was elected, ordained, and installed as a ruling elder. On the 14th of the same month, the boarding-

school for girls at Fort Wrangell was transferred to Sitka, by direction of the Home Board, and Mrs. McFarland joined its teaching force, bringing with her twenty-four pupils.

On the 14th of the same month, Dr. Jackson assisted in the organization of the Presbytery of Alaska at Sitka, and was enrolled with that body on presentation of a letter of dismissal from the Presbytery of Santa Fé. At this meeting, Mr. Austin was licensed and ordained as an evangelist. The working force at this date—seven years after the commencement of missionary work at Fort Wrangell—was reported as seven missionaries and sixteen missionary teachers, located at six regular stations in Southeastern Alaska. The number of scholars in the industrial and day-schools was estimated at five hundred and twenty-five. In view of the difficulties encountered in the prosecution of the work, in this formative period, the results, as thus summed up in church and school, were grandly encouraging.

Referring to this work, in his lecture course in Boston, in the spring of 1885, soon after Dr. Jackson received his appointment as General Agent of Education in Alaska, Joseph Cook said :—

Look at Alaska ! For twenty years a frozen foundling on our Western borders, we did less for her than Russia accomplished. The Presbyterian Church, as represented by that heroic missionary, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, has reached out its powerful arms to the forbidding regions of the North. After most mischievous and inexcusable delays on the part of Congress, there has been secured, chiefly through Dr. Jackson's influence, a loose territorial organization for Alaska. Dr. Jackson assists in administering it. He has obtained a large appropriation for schools. At the present moment, the Indians of Alaska, occupying a territory as large as that of the American Union east of the Mississippi and north of the Gulf States, are almost exclusively in the hands of the Presbyterian Church.

Other denominations have done something in Alaska ; but the greatest efforts have been made by the denomination I have named, and which I hope will be allowed to carry out its own enterprises without much rivalry.

The above mentioned appointment was made under the administration of President Cleveland, on the 11th of April, 1885. With this new phase of labour and its results, we shall deal in the chapters which follow.

XVI

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF EDUCATIONAL WORK IN ALASKA

"In recent days, Great Britain has had its Duncan, France its Petitot, and the United States its Jackson, whose evangelizing labours, acting through the more successful method—that of inculcating civilization and helpfulness—are a part of the glory of this time."

—*Gen. A. W. Greely.*

THE enactment which gave to Alaska a restricted form of civil government, dating from May 17, 1884, created the offices of governor and judge, at a salary of \$3,000 and of district attorney, marshal and clerk at a salary of \$2,500 each. These officers were appointed by the President and soon after entered upon the duties of their several appointments at Sitka, the designated seat of government. An appropriation of \$25,000 was made, in connection with the act for the establishment of civil government, for the education of children of school age within the limits of the territory, but the administration of this fund and the duty of making needful provision for the inauguration of an adequate school system, was laid upon the Secretary of the Interior. There seems to have been some uncertainty as to whether this work was to be done under direction of the Indian Bureau, or through the Commissioner of Education, and several months elapsed before a definite decision was reached. On the 2d day of March, 1885, the Secretary of the Interior assigned this work to the Bureau of Education, and directed its commissioner to prepare a plan of operation and initiate such steps as should be necessary to



secure adequate provision for the education of all the children of school age, without respect to race or nationality, in Alaska.

General John Eaton, the Commissioner of Education, at this time, had laboured zealously for years to secure this legislation for Alaska, and year by year had recommended an appropriation for the education of its native children. He made the acquaintance of Dr. Jackson in 1878, and gave him all the assistance in his power in his efforts to rouse the nation and its representatives in Congress to a sense of responsibility for the enlightenment of its ignorant and debased population. When it was decided, therefore, that an Alaskan division should be established in the Bureau of Education, this noble and steadfast friend of the cause had no hesitation in recommending Sheldon Jackson as the best man within the range of his knowledge to be placed at the head of it. The salary allowed for the incumbent of the office at this time was \$1,200.

The peculiar fitness of this appointment, which was made on the 11th of April, and was accepted without hesitation, is happily expressed in a congratulatory note sent to Dr. Jackson by the Hon. T. A. Johnson, then member of Congress from the state of New York :—

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., May 1, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR :—

In view of the very great and general interest manifested in regard to everything pertaining to Alaska, I feel like congratulating you on the reward you are now receiving for your long, unwearied, and very efficient labours on behalf of that distant portion of our country. When I remember your faithful work for Alaska while you were superintendent of Presbyterian missions for the Rocky Mountain territories, your able and successful efforts to arouse public sentiment in behalf of a government and schools for Alaska, and your addresses all over

the country on the subject, taken with what has come under my personal observation while a member of the Forty-eighth Congress and a member of the Committee on Territories and on the sub-committee having in charge the bill proposing a civil government for Alaska, I say without any hesitation that in my humble judgment, to you, more than to any other one man or agency, is due the success thus far attained in the direction of the establishing of a form of government, and the improvement in the condition of the inhabitants of Alaska. I took, from the first, a special interest in the bill before our committee because of the information you furnished and your connection with the matter. Please accept my sincere congratulations on your appointment as the first superintendent of public instruction for Alaska, and believe me,

Yours very truly,

F. A. JOHNSON,

Member of Congress, Twenty-first District, New York.

REV. SHELDON JACKSON, D. D.

There are two noteworthy things in connection with this appointment, *viz.* : The smallness of the salary, compared with the allowance for other officials appointed by the government, and the extraordinary difficulties connected with the inauguration and development of the work. The first may be accounted for on the assumption that Dr. Jackson was expected to carry on his missionary work, under the direction of the Home Board, in connection with the school work. This was in keeping with the policy of the Indian Bureau, which for years had utilized the labours of missionary agents of the several denominations in building up a school system among the grossly ignorant and depraved natives on the reservations or in the newer sections of the Western territories. Some of the difficulties connected with the administration of this service may be inferred from statements already made, but Dr. Jackson had been long enough in Alaska to know that the task assigned him was as great, if not greater, than anything he had heretofore attempted. It was a problem

peculiar to itself, with elements of difficulty which belonged to the exceptional physical features of the country, and the nomadic inclinations of its inhabitants.

Within its limits, which covered a surface equal to one-sixth of the area of the United States,—a stretch of 1,400 miles in a direct line from north to south, and 2,200 from east to west,—there were four districts or distinct groups of settlements, far removed, and practically isolated from each other, for lack of the ordinary means of intercommunication. The Sitkan district in the southeast section was the most familiar and easily reached. Westward of this district, across a stormy waste of waters, lies the Aleutian group of islands. To Kadiak, the nearest point in this group, the distance from Sitka is 633 miles. From Unalaska, in the southern section of this district, is 1,250 miles. This was the farthest outpost of civilization looking westward to the coast of Japan, 3,000 miles distant; while to the south the nearest church or school was on the Island of Hawaii, 2,000 miles away.

Northward, some 800 miles distant, along the western coast of Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean, extending from St. Michael to Point Barrow, there are several groups of the Inuit or Eskimo population of Alaska, constituting another district and another distinct race of people.

The fourth district was that portion of the interior section of the country accessible along the course of its navigable rivers, the largest portion of which was in the valley of the Yukon and its tributaries. To reach Anvik, one of the mission stations on this river, the nearest route was by the monthly mail steamer from Sitka to Juneau, 166 miles, thence by canoe manned by natives, to the head of Dyea Inlet, about 100 miles. From this point the route led over a dangerous mountain trail for twenty-five miles, used only for foot passengers,—whose supplies

were carried by bands of natives,—to the upper waters of the Yukon. Here the problem of transportation for the remainder of the journey, a distance of 1,750 miles, could readily be solved by constructing a raft, and floating down the stream.

To reach the northernmost portions of the Arctic settlements, where in the next decade schools were established, a region as far north from Sitka as the state of Florida is from Maine, was only possible in the summer season by taking passage on a vessel of the whaling fleet, or in a government revenue cutter, sent to this region on special service.

Other difficulties scarcely less formidable were anticipated, or experienced in chartering vessels year by year to carry teachers and supplies ; in finding properly qualified instructors for regions so remote and uninviting ; in the establishing of schools where the schoolhouses and teachers' residences had to be erected from material to be transported from 1,500 to 4,500 miles ; in instructing a people morally depraved, and for the most part pagan in life and worship : who were too ignorant to appreciate the advantages of a helpful education, and who in most of the locations indicated had no knowledge of the English language, the laws of health, the sacredness of home ties, or the refinements and amenities of civilized life.

To the magnitude of the work, as thus outlined, and the special difficulties environing it, was added the complication arising from the lack of funds to carry it on efficiently, and,—more discouraging than all besides,—the active opposition of some of the recently appointed government officials, including the governor, the United States judge, district attorney and marshal, who from the date of their arrival in the territory antagonized the work of the missionaries and sought to belittle their influence among the people. Their conduct in this respect was in

striking contrast with the official acts of the commanders of the naval vessels, who, up to the date of the inauguration of a civil government had represented the majesty of law at Sitka and in other ports where for the time they were stationed. In every way that was open to them, these noble men aided the missionaries in their efforts to enlighten and elevate the degraded natives of Alaska, and to protect the helpless young women who oftentimes fled to them to escape from parents and friends who were about to sell them to evil men for immoral purposes. These were the days when the spoils system was in vogue, when political debts were paid by the appointment of men to public offices, without regard to character or special fitness; and there were many prodigal sons who sought this far country that they might have more freedom from wholesome restraints; and more opportunities to spend their substance in riotous living. Between this class, whether in high or low life, and the Christian element which elevated the standard of purity and righteousness there was, as in every mission field to-day, a conflict of interests and an antagonism of forces, which can no more be reconciled or merged than the conflict between light and darkness, or Christ and Belial. At Sitka, the seat of government, this antagonism to the missionaries and all that they represented was open, malicious, and manifested itself in frequent overt acts. At heart, these opposers did not desire to have any part of the school fund devoted to the education of the natives. The leaders in the open and public attacks which were made upon Dr. Jackson and the missionary force who favoured their education and uplifting, were the United States Judge, Ward McAllister, Jr., of New York, and the United States District Attorney, E. W. Haskett, of Iowa.

During the winter of 1884-85, the district attorney encouraged the ignorant and naturally jealous Russian resi-

dents of Sitka in the belief that the mission school was absorbing funds which ought to be spent in their interests, and that the building in which it was housed was located on land to which they had a legitimate claim. At his instigation, the Russians applied for an injunction, restraining the officials of the industrial school from grading their grounds, erecting new buildings, or in any way improving the property which they held on trust. This injunction was granted at once by Judge McAllister, notwithstanding the fact that the school itself was sustained in part by the Bureau of Education, under direction of the Secretary of the Interior. In connection with this movement, successful attempts were also made to prejudice the natives against the school, with a view to reducing its numbers and destroying its influence. After Dr. Jackson had left Sitka for Washington City, on the March steamer, with a view to accepting the office of General Agent of Education in Alaska, several overt acts were attempted, which almost nullified the efforts of the teachers to continue its sessions or maintain its discipline.

When the reports of these later developments of opposition and petty strife reached Dr. Jackson, in Washington City, he at once addressed a personal letter to President Cleveland, setting forth the facts in substance, as above stated, and asking for such relief as would enable those who are engaged in this work to carry it on without hindrance or molestation. This letter bears date of April 3d, which was eight days before his appointment as General Agent of Education for Alaska. It closes with the following statement and appeal :—

Through the efforts of the district attorney, E. W. Haskett, and United States Interpreter, George Kasttrimetinoff, stirring up disaffection among the Indians, forty-seven children were taken out of an industrial training school and sent back to the filth, superstition, degradation and vice of their former Indian

life. Thus an institution established at a great expense by a religious denomination, and supported in part by an annual appropriation of Congress, through the Department of the Interior, is crippled, and the desire of the government to civilize the natives is thwarted by the hostility of United States officers.

For seven years, earnest men and women have been labouring in that far-off country amid untold hardships to overcome native prejudices and secure the children that they might, through industrial education, be taken out of the degraded condition of their fathers and placed in that of intelligent, American citizenship: and now to see forty-seven out of the 103 children gathered in that school, taken out in one month by drunken officials, under the guise of law, seems very hard to bear.

And in our distress we turn to you for relief, asking that in your wisdom you may send us a judge that will be in sympathy with the missionary efforts of the several churches in Alaska; and, if not that, at least with the government in their efforts to civilize the natives and educate their children.

After making such arrangements as were possible in a brief space of time at Washington for the beginning of educational work in Alaska, Dr. Jackson returned to his post of duty by steamer from Portland, reaching Sitka about the middle of May.

The first regular term of court ever held in Alaska was opened during this month. In anticipation of this event, the district attorney had been zealously seeking for an "occasion against this Daniel," who, despite all the machinations and misrepresentations of his enemies, had been favoured by an appointment from the government which greatly extended his influence and gave an official sanction to the work which he and his associates had ridiculed and despised. In due time, his fertile but somewhat muddled brain concocted an ingenious arraignment in connection with the building of the industrial school, on the strength of which he hoped to convict him of the arbitrary exercise of authority, if not of actual

crime. By skillful manipulation of the grand jury he at length secured the finding of five indictments against Dr. Jackson, one of which was the grave offense of asking for a hearing before the grand jury.¹ This indictment was summarily dismissed by the court, and the injunction against work on the school buildings was set aside, but the remaining four indictments, the gravamen of which was the obstructing of a public highway with a fence, certain buildings, etc., were placed on the docket for trial. The wording of this arraignment, which charged Sheldon Jackson with "the *crime* of unlawfully, illegally, wilfully, maliciously, and with malice, obstructing a certain road or highway," conveys the impression of a burlesque accusation in a moot court rather than a *bona fide* action in a court of justice of the nineteenth century.

On the basis of this absurd and puerile charge, which if it had been sustained would have been a case for settlement in the office of a justice of the peace, a bench warrant was issued and the defendant was placed under bonds, aggregating \$2,000, to appear for trial before the November session of the court. The excessive bail required in this case is a noteworthy feature of this arraignment, but in this, as well as in other matters relating to this action, Dr. Jackson meekly obeyed the requirements of the law and in the end proved himself to be equal to the occasion.

Meanwhile, he gave his attention to the schools within his reach in Southeastern Alaska. Special requests having been received for an early inauguration of the public school system in Sitka and Juneau, he gave them his first attention. In this section, as already intimated, he had a substantial basis for the inauguration of the work in the mission schools already established.

¹ Several of these jurors were Russians, who did not understand the English language.

Referring to this fact in his first annual report, Dr. Jackson says :—

The Presbyterian Church was the first of the American churches to enter this neglected land. Finding no schools, they established them side by side with their missions, proposing to furnish educational advantages until the general government should be ready to do it. Therefore, whenever the government was ready to undertake the work in any village occupied by the Presbyterians, they turned over their schools to the government. As they had a body of efficient teachers already on the ground, acclimated, experienced in the work, more or less acquainted with the native language, and possessing the confidence of the people, it was both more economical to the government and for the best interests of the schools that they should as far as possible be reemployed, which was done.

The first public school opened under the auspices of the government was at Juneau, the principal mining centre of Alaska, on the first day of June. A log carpenter shop was fitted up for a schoolroom, and the pupils were placed in charge of Miss Mary B. Murphy, an efficient teacher from Oregon. With the concurrence of the United States commissioner a block of land was selected in the centre of the town, upon which to erect a suitable building for school purposes, in the near future.

On the 22d of June, a school for the instruction of white and Creole pupils was opened in the centre of the town of Sitka, then the seat of government. In November of the same year, another school for the education of the native children was established in Sitka. On the first day of September, the Presbyterian schools at Hoonah, Fort Wrangell, Haines, and Howkan, were transferred to the government and manned by teachers secured by its General Agent of Instruction.

For lack of regular communication between Sitka and Western Alaska, Dr. Jackson was unable to do more for that section during this season than to send a Polish Jew,

Mr. Salomon Ripinsky, to Unalaska, where a school was opened by him in the month of October.

When he was about to leave Sitka by the mail steamer, on the 19th of August, to establish the above mentioned schools in Southeastern Alaska, an indignity was sprung upon him which revealed to the outside world the character and intent of the petty persecutions to which he had been subjected. When he went aboard the steamer at this time, he had, with his personal effects, an outfit of school supplies, including desks and furniture for the school at Wrangell, and charts, maps, etc., for the schools at Hoonah, Haines, Juneau, and Howkan. While the vessel was receiving its cargo and passengers at the landing-place, there was nothing to indicate any intention to disturb Dr. Jackson or prevent him from making the journey with those who stood around him on the deck; but when the gangplank was about to be withdrawn he was arrested by Deputy Marshal Sullivan, and with unnecessary rudeness was hustled off the steamer, in the presence of all the passengers, locked up in a prison cell, and denied even the comfort of an empty box upon which to sit down.¹ The ostensible reason for this indignity was the increase of Dr. Jackson's bail—which at the first was absurdly excessive in view of the offense charged,—but this could easily have been done at any time on the morning preceding the sailing of the vessel without the necessity for making an arrest. When the steamer had passed out of sight, Dr. Jackson was taken before the judge and his bail bond increased to \$3,200. After this mockery of proceedings in the name of justice, he was set free. As there was only one steamer southward each month, the immediate purpose of the actors in this out-

¹ The deputy marshal who made this arrest, a healthy young man at the time, was prostrated with typhoid fever and died, a few weeks afterwards.

rage, the detention of Dr. Jackson at Sitka, was accomplished. This studied indignity was witnessed by a number of tourists, some of whom were lawyers and ruling elders connected with the Presbyterian Church, and their report to the officials of the Home Board and to the public in general aroused a storm of indignation. On learning the facts, which were laid before him at Washington by a special committee appointed by the Board of Home Missions, President Cleveland promptly removed all the officials who were connected with this unseemly antagonism to the school work, including the governor, United States marshal, and district attorney. As soon thereafter as it could be done without detriment to the service, he also removed Judge McAllister. The return of the steamer, about a month later, brought the new officials to take the places of those who had been removed.

The new United States District Attorney, Col. M. D. Ball, by direction of the President gave early attention to the indictments pending against Sheldon Jackson, and at a session of the court at which the recently appointed district judge, the Honourable Edward J. D. Dawne, presided, the case was presented for trial. After the reading of the indictments, the court ordered the proceedings to be dismissed.

The setting aside of these indictments and the removal of the offending officials ended this series of petty persecutions in Alaska. A few weeks afterwards the ex-district attorney, E. W. Haskell, while on a drunken spree, was thrown from a railway car in motion, and was instantly killed.

The bitter and uncompromising enmity of the other officials who had been deposed did not end with the settlement of the conflict in Alaska, but was now transferred to Washington City. With the backing of powerful friends and associates in New York City, a determined

effort was made to have the Senate disapprove the appointment of Judge Dawne and reinstate Mr. McAllister. To accomplish this end, and also to vent their spite upon the one whom they regarded as the cause of their political downfall, petitions were circulated in Alaska, and also in the East, asking for his removal, and libelous articles impeaching his ability and defaming his character were published in some of the influential papers of the country. One of these publications which appeared in the columns of the *New York World*, March 1, 1886, was so vindictive in its spirit that it failed to impress the sober and more intelligent classes whom its author sought to influence. There were many friends of Dr. Jackson, however, among the outside element, as well as among his own associates, who promptly volunteered to make sworn statements of facts in disapproval of the covert insinuations and distorted representations of this over-zealous writer.

It seems appropriate that one of these statements, made by Lieut. T. Dix Bolles, of the United States Navy, who was on duty in Alaskan waters during the period referred to in this article should be included in this record :—¹

Washington, D. C., March 5, 1886.

My attention having been called to the statement published in the edition of March 1st, *New York World*, in reference to the removal of Judge McAllister, which article contains also a fierce attack upon the reputation of Rev. Sheldon Jackson, Educational Agent for Alaska, said article purporting to be derived from the papers in the case as filed before your committee, I desire to place myself on record as protesting against the falsity of much therein stated.

As a naval officer on duty in Alaskan waters in 1881-4-5, I

¹ For other papers of a similar character bearing on this matter, see "Printed Statement of Facts," published by the United States General Agent of Education in Alaska, Washington, D. C., 1886.

am able to speak from personal knowledge, and as an outsider to the issues, from an unbiased standpoint.

Up to the time the civil government relieved the Navy from control of Alaskan affairs, the schools, under charge of Dr. Jackson, had been steadily advancing in scope and usefulness. Not very long after—in the fall of 1884—various members of the civil government, both in their actions and in their conversations with me, showed that there was a strong feeling against the mission schools and their teachers, not simply against Dr. Jackson, but others. One went so far as to say “he would break them up.”

The district attorney, an intemperate man, even openly by words incited the Russians and Indians to overt acts of violence and arson.

The course of Judge McAllister in permitting a woman—not the mother of the child—to take the child away from the school where its parents had placed it, was the opening wedge for numbers of others and led to a loss of almost one-half of the scholars, many of them young girls, who represented to their parents just so much coin by the sale of their virtue.

The law was used as a cover to screen personal animosities, and persistent efforts were made to cripple and demoralize the schools. Finally an official act of the court, so grossly brutal and unjust, was perpetrated, that the governor and marshal, who had before been only too glad to throw difficulties in Dr. Jackson's way, came out openly with their condemnation, saying that “such conduct was illegal and improper, passing beyond decency.”

In regard to Dr. Jackson, I can from personal knowledge say that he is zealous and earnest in his efforts for the good of the Indians and the educational interests of Alaska, and faithful in the discharge of his duties.

I have found him truthful and honest, in fact, an earnest, hard-working, faithful, Christian man. These virtues being the antithesis of Alaskan ideas, naturally have produced bitter foes.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) T. DIX BOLLES,

Lieut. U. S. Navy, late Executive Officer U. S. S. Pinta.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 8th day of March,
A. D. 1886.

[SEAL.]

(Signed) H. J. ENNIS,

Notary Public, Washington, D. C.

Governor Swineford, the newly-appointed executive officer of the territory, had more tact and good judgment than his predecessor in office, but at heart he had no sympathy with the work of the Christian missionaries or their methods of instruction. His affinities were with those who traduced and misrepresented Sheldon Jackson, and it became apparent ere long that he was allied with them in a systematic and determined effort to secure his removal from office. This effort was continued with wonderful persistency of purpose throughout the administration of President Cleveland. It is highly creditable to the President and his Secretary of the Interior, Lucius C. Lamar, that these efforts, backed, as they were, by men and influences so active and powerful, were as persistently withstood in the interests of righteousness and fair dealing.

They had their effect, however, in awakening a feeling of distrust as to the importance of educational work, and the agencies through which it was being carried on, in Alaska. Because of these influences, mainly, no appropriation was voted for the schools in Alaska in 1885, and it was only through ceaseless activity and persistent effort on the part of a few brave spirits, of whom Dr. Jackson was the recognized leader, that an appropriation was secured for the subsequent years, during this period. This condition of affairs made it necessary for the general agent of the Alaska department to be in Washington City during the sessions of Congress. Inasmuch as this did not interfere with active work in his field, which could be carried on only during the summer months, permission was granted him to open an office for the transaction of business relating to his department in Washington City. Thereafter, in accordance with this arrangement, he laid his plans so as to spend his summers in Alaska and his winters in Washington. For two years after his

appointment as General Agent of Education for Alaska, the Home Board withdrew its commission from Dr. Jackson, but afterwards, at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, engaged to pay one-half of a salary of \$2,400, thus increasing his allowance to the amount of \$1,200.

This mutual agreement is worthy of note as an evidence of the close relationship which was recognized, at this time, between the agents of the missionary associations and the superintendents of the government schools among the various Indian or aboriginal tribes of the country. It was the policy inaugurated by General Grant, because he was convinced that the work of the missionary among these wards of the nation was the basis for effective work by the teacher of the public school. When he was asked to make a change in this policy, by men who had no sympathy with religious instruction, he said, "If the present policy towards the Indians can be improved in any way, I will always be ready to receive suggestions. I do not believe our Creator ever placed different races of men on this earth with a view to having the stronger exert all his energies in extermination of the weaker. If any change takes place in the Indian policy of the government while I hold my present office, it will be on the humanitarian side of the question."

This great leader who had studied Indian life in the mission stations of the churches, as well as on the plains, could not be diverted from his purpose by the sneer that sectarian interests were dominant in the effort to enlighten and evangelize the aborigines of the land. In Alaska, as well as on the reservations, it was the missionary who first went down among the degraded, the diseased, the besotted and benighted natives of the country, to bring the knowledge of a better way and a better life. It was the missionary who first washed the filthy, clothed

the naked, reformed the vicious, and gave the hand of help to the fallen ones : it was the missionary who first taught them the use of the English forms of speech and roused within their beclouded minds the desire and ambition to study and work as well as pray. In Alaska, as a matter of fact,—which can be easily verified,—it was the Christian Church and the Christian school which prepared the way among the native population for the government school and the instruction it gave in morals and good citizenship. Had the organization of its school system fallen into the hands of the sceptics and anti-Christian opposers, who were eager to shape it, when the salary had become a consideration worth striving for, they would have found it an impossibility to secure either teachers or scholars apart from the centres of light and influence which had been established by the despised missionary and the faithful self-denying teachers associated with him.

This official correspondence also furnishes a complete refutation to the charge brought against Dr. Jackson, at a later date, that he had been for years drawing two salaries. In Commissioner Dawson's letter, it is made very plain that he required *two* parties to pay *one* salary in order that it might be increased to what was then regarded as a minimum living rate.¹

"On the strength of this demand by the government," writes Dr. Jackson, "the Board of Missions commenced in 1888 to pay one-half of the salary, or \$1,200 annually, until 1896, when the increased expenses of living in Washington required at least a salary of \$3,000. The government responded by raising their part from \$1,500

¹ While in Washington City, Dr. Jackson wrote to the Rev. John G. Brady, afterwards governor of the territory, on the 11th of February, 1887:—"I am out of pocket every month I hold the office (General Agent of Education), but for the present it is necessary for me to hold on, or the school work would stop."

to \$2,000, and the following year (1897) added another \$500, making their part \$2,500 annually. When this was done, I notified the Board of Missions that I would no longer need \$1,200 from them, but if they would now give me \$500 per year it would make in the aggregate \$3,000, upon which I could live in a moderate way." This arrangement which relieved the Board of the larger part of the obligation it had assumed, was continued until the spring of 1907. At its fall meeting, in 1906, the Synod of Washington, to which the Presbytery of Alaska belongs, endorsed the relation which had hitherto existed between Dr. Jackson and the Home Board and advised its continuance. There were objections raised, however, from other quarters, and the Board decided to cancel the engagement after the above mentioned date.

While warmly attached to his own branch of the Church, Sheldon Jackson was ever ready to coöperate heart and soul with those of other denominations of the Christian faith who were labouring, through their several agencies, to extend the growth and influence of the kingdom of Christ. From the very beginning of his work in Alaska, he saw the necessity for concerted action in the winning of this great northland, and in his public presentations of its misery and sore need sought the coöperation of all the agencies and denominations he could directly or indirectly reach. As far back as the year 1880, when as yet his own church was the only one that actually occupied the field, a meeting of the representatives of several prominent denominations was called at his instigation, in New York City, with the approval of the senior secretary of the Board, to discuss the situation, and, if the way should be clear, to map out and apportion the field. Referring to this event, which marked a new departure in the adjustment of home mission work, Dr. Henry M. Field says :—

A peculiar beauty was given to the early missions in Alaska, in the way that different denominations entered the field and worked together. This harmony was not a happy accident, but the result of forethought, and of a purpose so high that it lifted them all above sectarian pride and ambition. The field was so vast that it would have been impossible even to touch it at different points, except by concert of action, in which each division in the little missionary army should select its particular field of labour on the islands or the coast. This was the policy of Sheldon Jackson, in which he found a strong supporter in Dr. Henry Kendall, the secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, who invited the Methodists and the Baptists and the Episcopalians, represented by their secretaries, Dr. John M. Reid, Dr. Henry M. Morehouse, and Dr. Alvi Tabor Twing, to meet together and talk it over. Dr. Twing could not be present, but joined heartily in the proposed agreement. The others came, but it was a small affair in outward appearance—only three secretaries and Sheldon Jackson—just enough to sit round a table; but this little company, meeting in an upper room, was sufficient to inaugurate a policy of peace, that, if adopted on a larger scale, would work for the benefit of all Christendom.

And now I see these four heads bending over the little table, on which Sheldon Jackson has spread out a map of Alaska. For the first time they see its tremendous proportions, as it reaches over many degrees of longitude and far up into the Arctic circle. The allotment was made in perfect harmony. As the Presbyterians had been the first to enter Southeastern Alaska, all agreed that they should retain it, untroubled by any intrusion. By the same rule, the Episcopalians were to keep the valley of the Yukon, where the Church of England, following in the track of the Hudson Bay Company, had planted its missions forty years before. The island of Kadiak, with the adjoining region of Cook's Inlet, made a generous portion for the Baptist brethren; while to the Methodists were assigned the Aleutian and Shumagin Islands. The Moravians were to pitch their tents in the interior—in the valleys of the Kusko Kwim and the Nushkagak; while the Congregationalists mounted higher to the Cape Prince of Wales, on the American side of Bering Strait; and, last of all, as nobody else would take it, the Presbyterians went to Point Barrow, in latitude seventy-two degrees and twenty-three minutes, the most northern mission station in

the world. Thus, in the military assignment of posts to be held, the stout-hearted Presbyterians at once led the advance, and brought up the rear in a climate where the thermometer was at times sixty-five to seventy degrees below zero—a situation that called for no ordinary amount of “grit and grace.”

Here was an ideal distribution of the missionary force, in which there was no sacrifice of principle, but an overflow of Christian love, which seemed to come as a baptism from on high. It was not in pride or scorn, but in the truest love, that these soldiers of the Cross turned to the right and the left, at the command of their great leader, and marched to their several positions of duty and danger.¹

This “ideal distribution” of missionary forces, so happily described by Dr. Field,—which holds good in most of its details as a working principle to this day—does not tell the whole story of Sheldon Jackson’s broad-minded liberality and generous coöperation and helpfulness. He was the friend and adviser of the officials of all the Protestant missionary societies operating within the limits of his great field; the friend and adviser of the missionaries, isolated in some cases hundreds of miles from each other; the angel of deliverance or the herald of good tidings to workers alike in church and school, who were ice-bound for months, or cut off, in some instances, for an entire year from communication with home and friends. Thus in the providence of God he became a non-commissioned general agent to all the churches except his own, and served them faithfully, as he had opportunity in his annual rounds, without commission or compensation. As he sailed from shore to shore, and from island to island, and met the representatives of the several sects, he could not—to use his own expression—“tell them apart.” Even when he came to St. Michael, sixty miles north of the mouth of the Yukon, and there met a Roman Catholic priest, who had come down from the interior a distance

¹ “Our Western Archipelago,” Dr. Field, p. 145.

of two hundred and fifty miles to get his yearly mail and supplies, he says, "My heart went out to him as a brother." At his suggestion, the Moravian Church, the first to enter the field after the Presbyterian, established a mission among the Eskimos in Western Alaska, in the summer of 1885. In the report of the tenth United States census the statement is made concerning these residents of Western and Arctic Alaska :—

That no trace or shadow of Christianity has found its way to their desolate regions ; the dark night of Shamanism or sorcery still hangs over the human mind. These people share with their Eastern kin a general belief in evil spirits and powers, against whom the Shaman alone can afford protection by sacrifices and incantations.

No philanthropic missionary has ever found his way to this Arctic coast, and unless some modern Hans Egede makes his appearance among them in the near future, there will be no soil left in which to plant the Christian seed.

Such was the dark, but true, picture, as drawn by a government agent, of the Eskimos dwelling in our own land, in 1880 ; but even then the dawning of a new day was at hand.

Their pitiable condition had oftentimes appealed to the sympathy of Sheldon Jackson, and various plans for reaching them with the saving influences of the Gospel had been debated and considered, as he ministered to the spiritual necessities of those directly under his influence in the more accessible parts of the country.

Acting, at length, on his own responsibility he made a visit to Bethlehem, Pa., in the spring of 1883, and had a private conference with Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, with reference to their sad condition and urgent necessities. At the bishop's request, the substance of the personal appeal made to him at this time, was put into written form and was read by him at the annual meeting of

the Moravian Missionary Society, August 23d, of the same year.

In a printed sketch of the "Beginnings of the Moravian Mission in Alaska," its author, Bishop E. Taylor Hamilton, D. D., says :—

"The commencement of a Moravian mission in Alaska was quite unforeseen by the members of that church until within a year of its actual inception ; and the call, coming from an unexpected quarter, was a Macedonian cry from another denomination of Protestant Christians.

"At the annual meeting of the 'Moravian Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen,' held on August 23, 1883, at Bethlehem, Pa., its president, the late Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, communicated a letter from the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D. D., of New York, in which he urged the establishment by the Moravian Church of a mission in Alaska among the Indians and Eskimos."

This appeal to a society foremost among all the churches for its zeal and success in missionary work, and which dates back to the year 1787, made a deep impression : and its consideration resulted in the sending of two of its tried veterans on the frontier on an exploration tour to Western Alaska, with instructions to select a site, if the way should be clear, for a mission. This they accomplished after a long and perilous journey, and called the name of the place so selected Bethel.

With a view to awakening a greater and more intelligent interest in the work to which they had thus committed the Moravian Church, the officials of the society invited Dr. Jackson to make a public address in Bethlehem on the 10th of February, 1884.

In response to this request he spoke to an assembly in the great Moravian house of worship. The pews, galleries, and all the available standing-room of the aisles were packed with deeply interested listeners. Thus by the

favour of God and the influence of His Spirit upon hearts prepared for His service, the Moravian Alaskan Mission, with all its perils and responsibilities, was enthusiastically endorsed by the people as well as by their leaders.

The *Christian Guardian*, of Toronto, Canada, under date August 30, 1884, gave the following account of this service :—

A missionary meeting was held at Bethlehem, Pa., at which the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, the father of Presbyterian missions in Alaska, made an address, picturing in vivid colours the dire needs and glorious opportunities of the work, and calling upon the Moravian Church to come forward as of old to the help of the Lord in this far-off Northern land. A deep impression was made. The genuine missionary spirit seemed to pervade all hearts. It was felt to be a call from the Master Himself. The next morning the entire graduating class of the theological seminary (eight young men) came forward unsolicited, and offered themselves for this work, ready to leave parents, home and the comforts and privileges of civilization, in order to bring the glad tidings of a Saviour to those Eskimos on the frozen shore of Alaska.

In 1903, five stations above Bristol Bay were occupied by the devoted missionaries of this noble Church who have endured great hardships and privations in connection with their work. The report for that year mentions an April temperature of 70° below zero.

The editor of *The Moravian Mission in Alaska*—“published to commemorate the completion of its first decade,” June, 1895, pays this graceful tribute to Dr. Jackson and his work :—

“Inseparably associated as the name of Carey with India,” says the author of “Our Northernmost Possessions,” “or those of Elliot and Brainerd with the Indian in the East, is the name of Sheldon Jackson with Alaska. To his faithful Christian energy and untiring zeal, the people of Alaska owe the intro-

duction of Protestant missionary work, and the establishment of schools for their education and elevation. The future Christian civilization of Alaska must and will revere his name as that of its founder."

The work of education in Western Alaska was delayed for several months by the failure of Congress to make an appropriation at the beginning of the year 1886. It was made at length, in the month of August, but the amount was only \$15,000 and the season was then too far advanced to take advantage of the sailing vessels which invariably left San Francisco in the spring and returned in the fall. To avoid the delay of another year in the establishment of schools in that section the schooner *Leo* was chartered for the work of the Bureau, which sailed from Puget Sound with teachers and supplies on the 3d of September. Four households, with two children, were included in the working force which boarded this vessel, and as many Christian homes were established in the new land to which they sailed, as the harbingers of a better day and a higher civilization. Says Dr. Field,—“That surely was a memorable voyage. The little schooner sailing away into the Northern seas, and passing from island to island, leaving at each ‘a teacher with his family’ was another *Mayflower*, dropping the seeds of civilization in the wilderness.”

After a tempestuous cruise of more than two months in Western Alaska, the schooner arrived at Sitka. From this place, Dr. Jackson continued his journey in the same vessel to the several points in Southeastern Alaska, where schools had been already established. This extension of the trip afforded an opportunity to gather up the members of the Presbytery of Alaska and take them to Fort Wrangell. The trip to Wrangell was a long and stormy one, consuming nine days. The ship was forced to take refuge in little coves or harbours three times, in conse-

quence of blinding snow-storms or heavy gales. When within thirty or forty miles of Fort Wrangell, the vessel ran upon a submerged ledge of rock and lay in a perilous condition for twenty-four hours, until floated off by a high tide. Meanwhile, the members of presbytery, fearful that they might be delayed for an indefinite period, attempted to reach their destination in a little dory. A few hours after they had left the ship, a storm came up suddenly and they were compelled to make a landing on a bleak desolate shore, where for about twenty-four hours they were detained with an insufficient allowance of provisions, and such shelter as a hastily improvised wind-brake of blankets afforded through the long night. In the morning, Dr. Jackson and two of his companions launched the dory in a heavy surf and rigging a sail made an attempt to reach the schooner. The rest of the party, benumbed with the cold and distrustful of the little boat in such a rough sea, decided to walk along the shore in the same direction, in the hope of rescue from those on the ship. After sailing before the wind the most of the forenoon, the schooner hove in sight and took the trio in the dory on board. Not long afterwards, the exhausted men on the beach were picked up, and without further mishap or detention Wrangell was reached and the meeting of the presbytery held, in accordance with previous arrangements. At this meeting, Jackson was made a commissioner to the General Assembly of 1887. This cruise as a whole occupied 104 days of exceptionally stormy weather. Landings were made at twenty-two points and much valuable information was collected.

The sudden disappearances of Dr. Jackson on some of these northern tours and the uncertainty as to the time and place of his reappearing, made it somewhat difficult for his friends and associates to locate him or address him in case of need. About the time of his expected return

from this voyage, Dr. Kendall, the senior secretary of the Home Board, who, next to the members of his own family, was supposed to know the most about his movements, wrote thus to him at his Galesburg address :—

I followed you with your load of schoolhouses, school-teachers, and Baptist Association, out from Seattle into the great wide ocean, and waited to know what I should hear next. I would not have been surprised to hear that you were climbing the frosty north pole or warming your hands at the crater of Mount St. Elias, but we have heard of your returning in peace through Sitka, gathering up a presbytery on your way, meeting and organizing at Wrangell, being elected to the General Assembly, and passing on your way southward. Where you are now, what you have been doing since, where your wife and children are, where anybody is by whom we can reach you by letter, I know not, but I strike in the dark. If this hits you at Galesburg, or anywhere else, I pray you to give heed to my requests, and if it hits your wife, and does not hit you, I beg that she will give me the information as to where you can be reached, for I have three requests to make of you.

Prior to the year 1890, the work of establishing schools was necessarily slow. The appropriations were small and the hindrances, already indicated, were many and perplexing. There was nevertheless a steady advance. Schoolhouses were erected towards the close of the decade at several of the points occupied, in Southeastern and Western Alaska, and contract schools were established in several places where new missions had been opened up by the various churches and missionary societies.

In 1885, the Friends founded a mission on Douglas Island, and the government commenced a system of day-schools in connection with it. In July, 1886, a contract was entered into with the Mission Board of the Episcopal Church, and a teacher was sent out to found a school at some point in the Yukon valley. A similar contract was

made with the Moravian Church, to establish a second mission and school at the mouth of the Nushagak River. "These schools," says the agent in his report, "with the one at Bethel, 500 miles from each other, and central to a population of from 10,000 to 12,000 uncivilized Eskimos in Western Alaska, were the entering wedges to the civilization of that whole great region—the beginning of greater things."

In the same year (1886), the "Holy Cross" Mission was founded by the Roman Catholic Church in the valley of the Yukon, and received aid from the government in the establishment of contract schools.

In 1887, the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America established a station at Unalakleet and Yakutat. In the summer of 1887, Sheldon Jackson founded *The North Star*, an illustrated monthly paper, printed at Sitka, with a view to the dissemination of reliable information relating to the several missions and schools. In the same year, the industrial school at Sitka was transferred to the care of the Bureau of Education, and was made a contract school.

Another important event in the history of this year, was the removal of the veteran missionary, William Duncan, from the village of Metlahkatlah, in British Columbia, with a company of about seven hundred civilized and Christianized Tsimpsen natives, to a new settlement and mission station on Annette Island, in Alaska.¹ This was a powerful reinforcement to the Christian element of the country.

In 1889, the Methodist Episcopal Church entered Alaska and founded a mission and contract schools among the Aleuts of Unalaska. Says the author of "Alaska for

¹ In selecting this site, Mr. Duncan was aided by Dr. Jackson, who first suggested it to him, and did all in his power to secure it as a permanent reservation for his Colony by act of Congress.

Juniors," "I think we owe it to Dr. Jackson that wherever missionary work is established in Alaska, there the government establishes a school in connection with it."

The development of the work up to this point made it necessary to have an assistant and the Commissioner of Education was authorized to make the appointment. Upon the recommendation of Dr. Jackson, Mr. William Hamilton, a representative of the Moravian Church, was made "Assistant General Agent," and entered at once upon the duties of his office.

Through all these agencies, operating in unison, the way was prepared for the better days to come.

XVII

DAYBREAK IN NORTHERN ALASKA

"Ice built, ice bound, and sea-bounded !
Such cold seas of silence ! such room !
Such snow-light ! Such sea-light confounded
With thunders, that smite as a doom !
Such grandeur ! such glory, such gloom !"

—*Joaquin Miller.*

"Love has taken the place of fear, and light the place of darkness."

—*William Duncan.*

WITHIN the period covered by the preceding chapter, the work of education and evangelization among the natives of Alaska was limited to the most promising towns and villages of the southeastern and southwestern sections of the country.

Into the sub-Arctic and Arctic regions proper, for long the home of the hardy, but uncivilized and sadly-debased Eskimos, no gospel messenger or Christian teacher had yet gone.

The special feature of the year 1890 was the planting of mission schools, supported in part by the government, at three central stations, representing the largest settlements on the Arctic coast, from which to reach the nomadic population of the interior. With respect to the beginning of this work the General Agent of Education says in his official report : —

"In the fall of 1882, Lieutenant-Commander Charles S. Stockton, U. S. N., who had just returned from a cruise in the Arctic, called my attention to the degraded condition

of the Eskimos in Northern Alaska. I brought the facts to the attention of Dr. W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, who entered heartily into the plan of establishing schools under the supervision of well-known missionary organizations. As the Moravians had been so successful in educating and civilizing the Eskimos of Greenland and Labrador, the oversight of the schools was first offered to them.

Having their hands full of work among the Eskimos in Southwestern Alaska, they very reluctantly declined the offer. I then visited the missionary societies in New York city, with the following results :—

The Protestant Episcopal Mission Board agreed to take the oversight of a school at Point Hope, Lieutenant-Commander Stockton, U. S. N., being a member of that denomination. The Mission Boards of the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist churches, like the Moravians, declined to accept a station on account of the impoverished condition of their treasuries. In this emergency, I made an appeal to Mrs. Elliott F. Shepard, who agreed to provide the money, if the Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church would take the oversight of the proposed school at Point Barrow. This offer was accepted.¹ About the same time, I was invited to spend a Sabbath with the Congregational church of Southport, Conn., and addressed them morning and evening on the work in Alaska. I told them the story of the Eskimos and made an appeal for a mission at Cape Prince of Wales, on the American side of Bering Strait, with the result that an offering of \$2,000 was made for this purpose. This was given to the American Missionary Society of the Congregational Church for the establishment of the mission at Wales.

¹ Mrs. Shepard continued to furnish the salary of the missionary at Point Barrow for many years following.

On the 13th of March, 1890, Dr. Jackson published a call for volunteers to man these stations, in several of the leading papers of the country. In this call, the rigours of the Arctic winters, the necessary isolation from the outside world for perhaps a year or more, the difficulties connected with teaching English among a people who were as a rule ignorant of it, and the inevitable hardships, privations, and perils incident to the work, demanding a missionary spirit of the most patient and heroic type,—were mentioned and emphasized with a view to the discouragement of all who were *not* of this class.

To the surprise of the general agent, twenty-four volunteers responded to this appeal, twelve of whom were women. From this number four men were selected. For Point Barrow, Prof. L. M. Stevenson; for Point Hope, Mr. John B. Driggs, M. D.; for Cape Prince of Wales, Prof. Wm. T. Lopp, of Indiana, and Prof. H. R. Thornton of Virginia.

This elect company, with their supply of provisions for a year, lumber, and other materials for school buildings, were shipped on a schooner at San Francisco to Port Clarence, where they were transferred to a whaler for their several destinations.

By permission of the Secretary of the Treasury, Dr. Jackson was given the privilege of making all his visits to the Arctic and sub-Arctic sections of his field, year by year, in the United States revenue cutter, *Bear*. Through the courtesy of Captain L. G. Shepherd, chief of the Revenue Cutter Service, and Captain M. A. Healy, commander of the *Bear*, he was accorded many special privileges on board the ship, and given every opportunity to visit his stations and carry out his plans.

The vessel which thus became identified with the beginning of his missionary and reindeer enterprises in Northern Alaska, has had a long and honourable record

as a cruiser in Arctic seas. She was built at Greenock, Scotland, for the Dundee sealing and whaling fleet and is regarded as the best vessel in the Arctic Ocean for work in the ice. It is described as a "barquentine-rigged steamer, 198 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 18.5 feet deep, with a capacity of 714 tons." The *Bear* was sent to the rescue of the Greeley expedition in 1884, and after its return with the survivors of the party was turned over to the Treasury Department and detailed for service as a revenue cutter in the treacherous and uncharted waters of Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean. Season after season has she gone north in the spring to enforce the revenue laws, and practically to do police duty around the Seal Islands of Bering Sea and the native settlements, stretching from Kadiak, fifteen hundred miles to Attu, and from Unalaska, twelve hundred miles northward to Point Barrow. During the first twelve years of service in these dangerous waters the *Bear* has rescued more than half a thousand shipwrecked whalers and destitute mariners, and not a season passes that does not add to its list of rescued men from coasting vessels or whalers. Its record is equally brilliant in the protection of thousands of half civilized natives from the rapacity of the white man and the demoralization of the white man's rum. In vast stretches of coast (from 10,000 to 12,000 miles is a season's cruise) unknown to civilization, the flag of the revenue steamer is the only evidence of the authority of the government ever seen, and the only protection afforded previous to the coming of the miners to Nome in 1898. The steamer *Bear* also furnishes the only medical attendance which the natives living along thousands of miles of coast ever receive.

With the noble captain of this vessel, whose purpose in many things accorded so happily with his own, the superintendent of these Alaskan missions and schools

made several trips north of the Arctic Circle, five of which were consecutive, from 1890 to 1900.

On the first of these cruises, the captain of the vessel had been directed to take a census of the coast villages of Northern Alaska. This made frequent stops a necessity and gave to Dr. Jackson unusual facilities for reaching the larger portion of the people.

The first cruise, typical in many of its details of those which followed, was westward from Seattle to the Aleutian Islands, a voyage of about ten days, and thence northward into Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean. It included the Seal Islands and several points on the Siberian coast. Large ice-fields were encountered at various points on the northward voyage, making it necessary for the ship to force its way through grinding masses of moving ice; or moored to the more solidified sections to drift with them for days at a time until a way could be found to a more open sea.

On the Fourth of July, a little after the hour of noon, the vessel reached Cape Prince of Wales, at the extreme end of the Western Hemisphere. Here on a dreary point of land the day was celebrated by laying the foundations of the first schoolhouse and mission on the northwestern coast of Alaska. "From this school is visible, to the north, the Arctic Ocean; to the south, Bering Sea, and to the west, Bering Strait, the coast of Siberia and Diomed Islands." A schooner laden with building material and supplies for this point arrived on the same day. On the day previous, another schooner with supplies for the whalers and the four teachers appointed for the posts already mentioned in the Arctic seas, had arrived at Port Clarence in time to transfer Professors Thornton and Lopp to the *Bear*. They were thus privileged to assist Dr. Jackson in locating the site and laying the foundations for the school building. Volunteers from



PRESBYTERIAN MISSION FARTHEST WEST.

Bringing Christianity to the Eskimos at Gambell. St. Lawrence Island. Bering Sea. (Within 40 miles of Siberia.)

Port Clarence, thirty miles distant; and a detail of carpenters and men from the *Bear* worked diligently on the house which was ready for occupancy on the 12th of July. On the evening of the same day, the *Bear* started northward through Bering Strait. The school at this point reported a daily average of 138 scholars for seven months and 113 for the nine months of the first school year.

At Point Hope, within the Arctic Circle, and about 300 miles south of the land's end northward, the second schoolhouse of this group, and the first of its kind on the western shore of the Arctic Ocean, was located and constructed by the carpenters who had aided in the erection of the building at Cape Prince of Wales. The building, with timely help given by a detail from the ship, on its arrival, was completed, and ready for occupancy on the 21st of July.

The following account of the beginning of school-work in this dreary district of darkness and cold, as quoted from Dr. Jackson's records by Alice Palmer Henderson, the gifted author of "*The Rainbow's End, Alaska*," gives a very realistic and interesting impression of the drawbacks connected with this initial undertaking:—

The school was opened on the 1st of October, 1890. The day brought with it a blizzard and snow-storm that lasted for nine days. During the morning, the teacher occupied the schoolroom alone, but as time wore on and no pupils came, he put on his furs and started for the village to hunt up the children. He found a boy walking on the beach. Taking him into the schoolroom, he commenced school. At its close, he presented his pupil with a couple of pancakes left from his own breakfast. The effect was equal to any reward of merit. That boy proved one of the most regular in attendance during the entire winter season. The next morning four presented themselves, and from that the school grew to sixty-eight. A mixture of flour, molasses, and water made a sort of cake, a little of

which was given to the pupils each evening, proving not only a very cheap and efficient method of securing regular attendance, and promoting discipline, as they had to be both present and perfect in their deportment and recitations, to be entitled to cake. The scholars usually arrived from six to seven in the morning and remained all day. The sun disappeared on the 10th of December and returned on the 3d of January, giving them a night of twenty-four days. Lamps were required in the school-room from November 12th to February 9th. During February and a portion of March, a series of blizzards set in that were beyond description. The ice was solid across the ocean to Cape Prince of Wales, 200 miles distant. The effect of the gales was such that at times it seemed as if the schoolhouse must be blown away. Snow flew in perfect sheets. The schoolhouse was located two miles from the village, and yet, notwithstanding the storm and distance, the attendance was good. For a few days the teacher hired men to see the little ones safely home through the storm (the two miles' distance), but soon found that the precaution was unnecessary; that they were accustomed to take care of themselves.

Another problem in connection with the winter schools in Arctic Alaska arose from the absence of the sun to mark distinctly the alternate periods of day and night. Consequently when the school bell would ring at nine o'clock A. M. it was as dark as at nine P. M. and the children, without timepieces of any kind to guide them, had frequently to be roused from their slumbers to the consciousness of the beginning of a new day. For this reason, many of the pupils came to the school at the wrong hour, or at times without their breakfasts.

From Point Hope the vessel slowly worked its way northward through immense fields of floating ice to the Refuge Station at Point Barrow, where a supply of provisions is stored and accommodations are provided for one hundred shipwrecked whalers, in case of need. Along this Arctic coast, where scores of vessels have gone down or have been crushed in the ice, more than 2,000 sailors have been wrecked within the space of ten years. Here,



Aurora Borealis. Presbyterian Mission at Point Barrow, Alaska. Established by Dr. Jackson, 1890. Northernmost village and mission on the continent.

on the 20th of July, Prof. L. M. Stevenson, the teacher selected for the school to be established at this place, was landed with his supplies and left alone to begin his work. Through the courtesy of Captain Healy, a room for the school was secured in one of the government buildings. In this dreary and desolate place, which is farther north than the North Cape in Europe; where the long Arctic day and night were each nearly three months long; where the outlook on the seaward side both summer and winter was a perpetual ice-field, stretching northward towards the Pole; where in the autumn and spring great whales sported before his front door and in the winter polar bears prowled around his dwelling, this courageous herald of a higher civilization and a better life gathered the children and older people together and gave them their first lessons in language and the elementary branches of human knowledge.

In a letter recounting the events of this cruise, Dr. Jackson writes :—

“It is a continual joy to me, that at least in three places we are this season commencing Christian work, which will not only light up this life, but also secure to these long neglected natives an everlasting home, where existence will not be one prolonged struggle of suffering, want, and hopeless misery.”

At Unalaska, on the return journey, a transfer was made to the revenue cutter, *Rush*, which was about to sail for Sitka and other ports in Southeastern Alaska. This afforded the opportunity to make a tour of inspection through this region to all the schools then in operation, except those at Klawak and Metlahkatlah. On the 11th of November, Dr. Jackson reached his home in Washington, after an absence of seven months, having travelled in all, by land and water, a distance of 17,825 miles.

The second annual tour, in 1891, with some divergences covered practically the same ground, but was taken in the reverse order. After several attempts—covering nearly a month in time—to force his way through the ice-pack, in the vicinity of Point Belcher, the captain was obliged to give up his purpose to visit the station at Point Barrow only seventy miles distant, and reluctantly turned southward. Dr. Jackson was near enough, however, to communicate with Mr. Stevenson, who found a way to the ship and made such arrangements as were necessary to tide over the long interval of seclusion which must elapse before the *Bear* could make another attempt to reach his lonely station.

On the third annual cruise, in the summer of 1892, Captain Healy succeeded in reaching Point Barrow, where the superintendent left a bell for the school and other supplies which had not been delivered the preceding season. The leading event of this year was the introduction of domestic reindeer into Alaska, and several zigzag trips were made for this purpose back and forth between the contiguous sections of the two continents. An unusual amount of floating ice impeded the progress of the vessel on these trips, and frequently the captain was obliged to shift his anchorage or moor the vessel to the immense floes of ice which bore down upon it. During this season, some of the whalers were caught in the ice-drifts early in April, and were not released from their imprisonment until June. One vessel of this class drifted with an ice-pack northward for nearly four hundred miles. It seems somewhat incongruous with ordinary happenings to be beset with swarms of mosquitoes in the midst of floating ice, but this appears to have been a common experience in these Arctic regions. On one occasion when the vessel was at anchorage in the midst of ice-drifts the swarms of mosquitoes were so annoying to

those on board that the captain weighed anchor and moved farther out to sea.

At a later date, while travelling in an open boat, Dr. Jackson was driven out from a hastily improvised shelter during a driving storm of sleet and rain, by a horde of hungry mosquitoes. When his position outside became almost intolerable, he returned to the cover and fought the swarming pests which assailed him with renewed vigour. A friend who was with him attempted to drive them out with clouds of tobacco smoke, but failing in this resigned himself to his fate, and went to sleep. It was not so easy for the hero of this story to adapt himself to the situation, however, and he alternated his time between fighting mosquitoes and sitting out in the rain.

The fifth annual cruise to the Arctic, in the summer of 1894, was made by way of Sitka going and returning. Point Barrow was reached after the usual experiences with ice-floes and adverse elements, on the 5th of August. At all the stations visited the mail pouches, with their precious messages from the outside world, were delivered and the supplies for the year were landed at seven Arctic and sub-Arctic missions and schools.

Before the close of the decade in which these missions and schools were founded, several additional stations were added, and their combined influence in the elevation of this rude and semi-barbarous people has been very marked. It is said that when the mission at Cape Prince of Wales was established, the village in which it was located was so notorious for treachery and high-handed wickedness that no whaler had dared to drop anchor in its neighbourhood for ten years. The placing of the missionaries there was regarded by the officers of the whaling vessels as a foolhardy undertaking, from which no good could result. Very different, however, was the outcome of this heroic venture in the name of Christ. The school was

well attended from the first, the simplest truths of the Gospel were preached to willing listeners, and so great was the influence of these truths that in some degree the whole community was elevated and transformed. Here, as in many other places in Alaska, the work of the missionary made it safe for the trader, the miner, and the sailor, and yet there were few among these adventurers of the early days who recognized the value of this work or even regarded it with approval. In this case the coming of the missionaries prepared the way for the return of the whalers, and in all the years following they have anchored their ships before the village and landed their crews in safety.

At Point Barrow, the conditions were different, in some respects, but the influence of the Church and school was so marked and salutary that the fortified habitation, which was built early in the eighties, to protect the residents of the government station from the natives, was dismantled. And when at a later period more than 200 shipwrecked sailors sought the help and protection of the village, its inhabitants, influenced by the new teaching and civilization which had come to them, fed and clothed these needy sufferers from their own scanty supplies.

In less than eleven years after the founding of a Christian school at Point Barrow, Dr. Marsh, the medical missionary, then in charge of the station, reported a church-membership of forty-three, with a list of waiting applicants, under special care and instruction, numbering about one hundred. Into the little church building holding about one hundred comfortably, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty would frequently crowd together at the morning service, to the great discomfort of the speaker, who had not been accustomed, like the people of his charge, to an atmosphere in which, as the missionary put it, the light burned dimly for want of oxygen.

Thus amid many discouragements faithful men and women manned these far-away outposts in this dreary land of ice and snow, changing the current of human lives, patiently introducing the elements of a higher civilization and winning from these stolid and seemingly stupid men, women, and children many rich trophies of redeeming grace.

While we give high honour to these brave and patient servants of Jesus Christ it should not be forgotten that the man who, by reason of his long and faithful service in behalf of the people of this land, has been appropriately styled "The Apostle of Alaska," was the first of all the representatives of Protestant Christendom to plead the cause of the benighted residents of the Arctic coast and the first to bring to them the inestimable blessings of the Christian Church and school. His work in the making of the future of Alaska and the saving of the Eskimos of this region from slow starvation and ultimate extinction,—a work almost coterminous with the giving to them of the Gospel—by the introduction of the domesticated reindeer, will be the subject of the chapter following.

XVIII

THE INTRODUCTION OF SIBERIAN REINDEER INTO THE LAND OF THE ESKIMOS

"When the history of that vast territory in the frozen North shall have been written by the light of an assured development, the figure of Sheldon Jackson will loom up heroic in its pages, as one whose broad humanity, willing self-sacrifice, indomitable determination and Christian faith, made him a pioneer of civilization in a land which all save his few devoted lieutenants shunned till the greed of gold led them to face rigours and perils far exceeding those embraced in the appeals of the gentle and daring missionary."—*Mail and Express, New York, 1897.*

WHEN Sheldon Jackson made his first visit, in the summer of 1890, to the towns and settlements of Arctic Alaska, for the purpose of establishing schools and gathering information concerning the condition of the people, he found that the sources of food supply upon which the natives had depended for ages past, were diminishing so rapidly and surely that, without intervention or help from outside sources, they would soon be reduced to a condition of hopeless misery and slow starvation.

On one ice-girt island, visited on this cruise, the inhabitants of a whole village, partly through improvidence and partly through the wanton destruction of their food supplies by whalers, had miserably perished a short time before.

At other points, the inhabitants had been reduced to desperate straits to secure subsistence through the long, dark winters of isolation from all outside communication

or help. In every portion of the vast stretches along the coasts of the Bering and Arctic Seas the white man, with his improved methods of slaughter, had relentlessly pursued the whale, the walrus, and the seal, driving them into remote regions beyond the reach of the natives, as well as cutting them off by a system of wholesale slaughter.

In view of these facts, it was evident to this far-sighted pioneer missionary, who had long been accustomed to deal with the aborigines of the land, that some means of subsistence other than the chase must be provided for the Eskimos of this great northland, in order to save them from periodical recurrences of famine and ultimate extinction.

In his annual report, after his return from this tour of exploration, he writes :—

To establish schools among a starving people would be of little service ; hence education, civilization, and humanity alike call for relief. The sea could not be restocked with whale as a stream can be restocked with fish. To feed the population at government expense would pauperize, and in the end would as certainly destroy them.

• Some other method had to be devised. This was suggested by the wild nomad tribes on the Siberian side of Bering Strait. They had an unfailing food supply in their large herds of domestic reindeer. Why not introduce the domestic reindeer on the American side and thus provide a new and adequate food supply?

• To do this will give the Eskimo as permanent a food supply as the cattle of the Western plains and sheep of New Mexico and Arizona do the inhabitants of those sections. It will do more than preserve life—it will preserve the self-respect of the people and advance them in the scale of civilization. It will change them from hunters to herders. It will also utilize the hundreds of thousands of square miles of moss-covered tundra of Arctic and sub-Arctic Alaska and make those now useless and barren wastes conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the United States.

A moderate computation, based upon the statistics of Lapland, where similar climatic and other conditions exist, shows Northern and Central Alaska capable of supporting over 9,000,000 head of reindeer.

To reclaim and make valuable vast areas of land, otherwise worthless; to introduce large, permanent, and wealth-producing industries, where none previously existed; to take a barbarian people on the verge of starvation and lift them up to a comfortable self-support and civilization, is certainly a work of national importance.

In this brief, luminous statement we have the result of Sheldon Jackson's study of this problem in practical economics, as well as the basis of his plea on behalf of these needy and dependent natives. To change them *from hunters to herders* to meet their changing condition and environment, was a conception worthy of a Christian statesman of the highest type and broadest philanthropy. To carry it out in the face of ridicule,—for many regarded it as the visionary dream of a missionary enthusiast—and difficulties, which to any one but a “missionary enthusiast,” would have seemed to be insuperable, was a task which called for ability and genius of a very high order.

The report from which the above extract is taken was approved by the Commissioner of Education and was referred by him to the Secretary of the Interior. In due course it came before the Fifty-first Congress (1890-91), and an appropriation of \$15,000 was incorporated in “a bill for the introduction of domesticated reindeer into Alaska as an experiment, in connection with the industrial schools of the country.” Amid the pressure of other matters, which were regarded as of more importance, this proposed enactment was crowded out and Congress adjourned without taking action upon it. At this stage of the proceedings, as ex-Governor Brady puts it,—“The occasion demanded a man of peculiar type, and, like Cæsar, ‘He came, he saw,’ and, in the opinion of the

friends of this enterprise, has 'conquered.'” Believing that the best way to interest the members of Congress in this scheme was to demonstrate its practicability, Dr. Jackson, with the approval of the Commissioner of Education, issued an appeal for private contributions to inaugurate it, during the summer of 1891. This appeal was published in the *Mail and Express*, of New York City, the *Boston Transcript*, the *Philadelphia Ledger*, the *Chicago Inter Ocean*, the *Washington Star*, and many of the religious papers of the country. The response was prompt and generous: the sum total being \$2,145. With this sum, which was expended in the purchase of goods suitable for barter on the Siberian coast, Dr. Jackson, with the approval and authorization of the Secretary of the Interior, undertook the work of securing and transporting a small number of reindeer into Alaska.¹ The details connected with this initial work were many and perplexing; but with the help and counsel of the officers of the United States revenue cutter the difficulties, which at times seemed to be insuperable, were overcome. There were many things, however, which could only be found out as the result of actual experience. The reasons for beginning on a small scale are thus summed up by the author of the scheme:—

“In the public discussions which arose with regard to the scheme, a sentiment was found in some circles that it was impracticable; that on account of the superstition of the natives they would be unwilling to sell their stock alive; further, that the nature of the reindeer was such that they would not bear ship transportation, and, also, that, even if they could be purchased and safely transported, the native dogs on the Alaskan coast would destroy or the natives kill them for food.

¹The purchase of goods for barter was necessary because the Siberians were ignorant of the use of money.

"This feeling, which was held by many intelligent men, was asserted so strongly and positively that it was thought best in the first season to make haste slowly, and instead of purchasing a large number of reindeer possibly to die on shipboard, or perhaps to be destroyed by the Alaskan dogs (thus at the outset prejudicing the scheme), it was deemed wiser and safer to buy only a few."

"Therefore, in the time available from other educational duties during the season of 1891, I again carefully reviewed the ground and secured all possible additional information with regard to the reindeer, and, while delaying the actual establishment of a herd until another season, refuted the objections that the natives would not sell, and the deer would not bear transportation, by actually buying and transporting them."

In this initial venture, sixteen head of reindeer were purchased, kept on shipboard for about three weeks, and finally landed in good condition at Amaknak Island, in the harbour of Unalaska. During this memorable cruise, Captain Healy coasted on the Asiatic side of the Bering and Arctic Seas from 1,200 to 1,500 miles, calling at the various villages, enabling Dr. Jackson to hold conferences with the leading herders of the reindeer and make arrangements, wherever practicable, for the purchase of animals the next season.

On Friday morning, the 28th of August, 1891, the *Bear* anchored off Itschan village, where arrangements had been made for the delivery of four reindeer, the first installment of the herd of sixteen, and Lieutenant Jarvis was sent off with a boat's crew to bring them to the ship. In his daily journal, under the above date, Dr. Jackson says, "Lieutenant Jarvis returned at 1:30 P. M., and at 1:40 the first deer was hoisted on board. Thus it has been proven by actual experience that reindeer can be purchased alive. This is a great event. It is now to be

tested how well they will bear transportation." The verification of this test was made on the homeward journey, oftentimes amid heavy seas and fierce storms, which was accomplished as far as Unalaska without accident or the loss of a single one of the little herd. The landing of these patient animals—trembling, hobbled and bruised—September 21st, on American soil, marked the beginning of a new epoch in the industrial interests of the residents of our Arctic and sub-Arctic possessions. It has been justly described as one of the most noteworthy events of the nineteenth century. As one has put it :

This patient, noble creature now enters prominently into human world-history. With great qualities he has come to stay. A mighty century closes with the eyes of the world on the two extremes of the globe, the frozen Arctics and the burning tropics, Alaska and Africa. Two noble animals, creatures of burden, products of the zone, stand forth prominently—the reindeer and the camel. In the Arctics, no matter how great the facilities of transportation by steam and electricity, there will be points that can be reached only by this animal.¹

On his return to Washington Dr. Jackson renewed his efforts to secure the endorsement and support of Congress in the further prosecution of this undertaking, so auspiciously begun. In this he was ably assisted by the Hon. H. M. Teller, United States senator from Colorado, who drew up a bill for the consideration of the Senate, appropriating \$15,000, "to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, for the purpose of introducing and maintaining in the territory of Alaska, reindeer for domestic purposes."

This bill was approved by the Senate on the 23d of May, 1892. It was then placed on the calendar of the House, but here adverse influences prevailed and it failed to pass when brought up for consideration and action. This lack of sympathy and active coöperation on the part of the representatives of the nation was a disappointment at the time, but it was not taken seriously by the prime

¹ *Woman's Home Mission Magazine*, M. E. Church, January, 1897.

mover in this enterprise, who, in confident expectation of ultimate success, determined to carry out the arrangements he had made in the preceding summer for the transportation of a larger herd of deer to some point on the American side of the Arctic or Bering Sea. At Unalaska, where the usual stop was made on the outward voyage, he found the reindeer, which he had left on Amaknak Island, in good condition and apparently as much at home as if they had wintered on the coast of Asia. Several fawns were noticed with the herd and in the following season the number gained by natural increase was much larger.¹ Thus another problem was solved and the way made clear for further operations on a larger scale. The first step in connection with the permanent establishment of the reindeer industry was the selection of a suitable location for a station and industrial school, the main feature of which was to be instruction in the management and propagation of the deer by herders of experience secured for the purpose from the coast of Siberia. At the head of Port Clarence, in the vicinity of Cape Spenser on the eastern coast of Bering Sea, a spot was found which seemed to fulfill the necessary conditions for the purpose, and here, on the 29th of June, Dr. Jackson located and set apart a station by raising the stars and stripes while the marines fired a salute with rifles "as the flag gracefully filled to the breeze."² In honour of the friend and able advocate of this enterprise it was named the "Teller Reindeer Station."³

¹ This little herd which was left to shift for itself was subject to heavy losses for lack of care and in a few years had disappeared.

² Reindeer Report of Superintendent Miner W. Bruce, 1893, p. 53.

³ Here in winter the northern lights are often seen, and are sometimes startling in their brilliance and magnificence. The north star is in such a position that if a pendulum were suspended from it the lower end would swing almost directly over the station.—Miner W. Bruce.



1. Sheldon Jackson landing the first herd of domesticated reindeer in America, July 4, 1892. 2. The Herd. 3. The family team.

A few days later, lumber and building material were landed at this point and a frame house was erected by the carpenters of the *Bear* and a detail of assistants. Meanwhile, the superintendent of the new station constructed two "dugouts" for himself and assistants, to be occupied during the severity of the winter season. From this place, the nearest good harbour to Bering Strait on the American side, five visits were made to Siberia, during the season, for the purchase and transportation of reindeer. On the evening of the 3d of July, the *Bear* anchored off the station with its cargo of live stock. The surf was too heavy for landing that evening, but early the next morning the ship, which was gaily decorated with flags in honour of the day,—July 4th,—sent out its launch with the first load of reindeer ever transported to the mainland of the continent of America. With this herd, which numbered fifty-three head, there were four Siberian herders who remained at the station until the opening of the next season. On the second trip across the Strait, two anchors were broken by heavy ice-floes and at one point on the Siberian coast the ship was held fast in an ice-pack for a whole week. At every landing-place on this bleak and dangerous coast difficulties were experienced, in consequence of dense fogs, drifting ice, or heavy surf. Under these adverse circumstances, 171 head of reindeer were purchased and transported to the station at Port Clarence during the summer of 1892.

In the execution of this matter-of-fact enterprise, rather than in its inception, there is a touch of real romance, and a degree of real heroism and dogged persistency which has seldom been surpassed.

During the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, March 3, 1893, an appropriation of \$6,000 was made for the purchase of additional animals, and the management of this fund was laid upon the Commissioner of Education

and was included in the work of the Superintendent of Instruction for Alaska. Thus, for the first time, the general government gave its official sanction to, and made provision for, this reindeer enterprise for the benefit of Alaska.

During the spring of 1893, seventy-nine fawns were born to the herd at the Teller station.

The loss to the herd since the date of its landing, mainly from causes which could be avoided in the future, was twenty-seven. This reduced number, with the increase already noted, made a total of 223 animals in good condition. To this goodly number, 127 more were added during the summer cruise, which was made in connection with the care and oversight of the schools. In the season of 1894, 186 were added by increase and 127 by purchase.

With the introduction of improved methods of treatment and care, under the skillful handling of herders imported from Lapland, the annual loss to the herds was greatly reduced, and a great advance was made upon the system of training in the industrial school.

These herders, seven in number, with their wives and children, were brought over to the United States by Mr. Wm. A. Kjellman, of Madison, Wis., who had been selected as superintendent of the Teller Reindeer Station.

During the winter of 1892-93, the superintendent of the herd trained twelve deer to draw sleds, and with two teams selected from this number made a very satisfactory journey to Cape Prince of Wales, sixty miles distant, and return, in the month of March. On this trip he picketed the deer at halting-places in the neighbourhood of villages, in which there were from 100 to 300 native dogs, but in no instance were they molested. Thus another difficulty that was anticipated by some in connection with this venture was met and resolved.

In September, 1893, the herd at Teller numbered 346.

In August of the following year, 119 head were taken from it and entrusted to the care of Mr. W. T. Lopp, missionary of the Congregational Church, in charge of the station at Cape Prince of Wales. In the early days of this enterprise, the only places where reindeer herds could be successfully cared for with a view to the training of reliable apprentices among the Eskimos, was at the missionary stations, which had been located in advance of this movement, at the natural centres of native population, and had the further advantage of pupils available for this purpose, who were being taught the use of the English language.

In an official paper relating to the location and distribution of the reindeer herds, the Hon. W. T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, says:—

“It is evident that the missionary stations furnish the only safe centres for the locations of herds and the establishment of schools of instruction in the rearing of the reindeer and the training of them to harness. The missions ascertain the capable and teachable youth among the natives. They are able at any time to furnish a list of the natives in their vicinities noted for good character. At each of these stations, twenty or thirty youth selected from a village population of 300 or more, can be put in training as herdsmen and teamsters. No matter how large the government appropriation should be, therefore, it would be necessary to connect the reindeer instruction and the establishment of permanent herds with these missionary stations.”¹

In these schools, which thus combined the educational and the industrial courses of study, some of the brightest young men were apprenticed for five years under skillful Lapp or Finn instructors. With careful training under such influences, the Eskimos make excellent herders and

¹ Senate Document, 59th Congress, No. 483, p. 125.

are thus preparing the way for the extension of this new industry all over Arctic and sub-Arctic Alaska.

In the contract made with the officials in charge of the mission stations it was stipulated that the government would furnish one hundred or more reindeer free of charge as a loan, subject to recall if the conditions of the loan were not complied with, for the term of five years. In return for this favour, the mission was required to feed, clothe, and care for the native apprentices during this period, and at its close return the original number of reindeer loaned them. Of the increase year by year at least eighty per cent. became the property of the mission. In some cases, twenty per cent. of the net increase was given to the instructors. It was found to be good policy, also, to give to each apprentice the increase of a certain part of the herd which had been assigned to him, so that at the conclusion of his term of service he might have fifty or more deer, to brand as his own. In all the arrangements which were made from time to time with respect to the distribution of the several herds, it was the settled policy of the government to give an increasingly large percentage of fawns to the natives as they became more proficient and skillful in handling the animals entrusted to their care.

As a result of this policy, the government owned thirty per cent. of all the reindeer in Alaska in 1905 ; the mission stations twenty-one per cent. ; the Lapps eleven per cent. ; while the natives had acquired the ownership of thirty-eight per cent.

The last importation of reindeer from Siberia was in the year 1902, when, after many discouraging and exasperating experiences, the largest number which could be secured out of a possible limit of 300, set by the Russian government, was thirty. At the close of this season an embargo was promulgated against the exportation of rein-

deer from the Russian possessions and none have been imported since that date. The whole number imported into Alaska previous to this interdict was 1,280. From these have sprung all the animals in the numerous herds which are now distributed over Western and Northern Alaska.

The first training schools, as already intimated, were located at the mission stations.

In course of time, it was deemed expedient to establish relief stations not directly under missionary control. To these were added government stations also, at important points, which were conducted independently of the missions, but all were under the control of the General Agent of Education for Alaska. The existence of the three classes of stations gave opportunity, at a later date, to compare the relative value, efficiency, and economy of each ; and from the data given in the annual reports it appears that in all these respects the credit balance was on the side of the mission station. With respect to the economy of this administration,—a matter which has often been disputed by the opponents of the policy advocated by the Commissioner of Education,—the tabulated statements show that by far the heaviest item of expense year by year has been the feeding and clothing of the apprentices ; and that the government stations apart from the missions have cost about three times as much as those under their care.

Before the first decade of this industrial venture had closed, the condition and prospects of the work abundantly confirmed the conviction that prompted it and proved the wisdom, in general, of the plans by which it had been carried on. During this period, it was shown by practical demonstration that the trained reindeer could be depended upon to travel swiftly over long distances, draw heavy loads ; and also to secure his own food above ground and under the snow,—over a vast extent of territory north of the agricultural belt in Alaska.

It is said by those who are familiar with all the different modes of transportation in Arctic regions, that, on a long journey, a dog-team cannot haul sufficient provisions through an uninhabited country to feed themselves. For such journeys, the superiority of the reindeer is evidenced by the fact that one accustomed to the harness can travel with 200 pounds on a sled over mountains and plains without road or trail for days or weeks at a time; and all the while keep in good condition by browsing on the moss or lichen, which he finds at halting-places by the way, by digging down to it with his shovel-like hoofs through the snow.

The reindeer furnish their owners with food, clothing, and shelter, and nearly all the necessities of life. The flesh, blood, and entrails are eaten. The skin makes the garments, beds, and tents. The skin of the leg, which is covered with fine short hair, makes the boots. From the antlers are made many of their implements, drill bows for lighting fires, knife handles, etc. The sinews of the deer make the native thread, and a most excellent thread it is. The bones, soaked in oil, are burned for fuel, and in addition to all this the deer furnishes his master with the means of transportation and indeed to a large extent assists in forming the character of the man.¹

Thus the introduction of domesticated reindeer into Alaska has opened up new avenues of commerce and travel over vast stretches of ice and snow; furnished a new food supply to a starving people; developed new industries of an exceedingly practical character and is today rapidly solving the problem of the perpetuation and civilization of the Eskimos in our great northland possessions. It has been said with truth that if Dr. Jackson had done no other thing than this, his name would deserve the praise of all lovers of humanity.

¹ "Notes on Reindeer," by Captain C. L. Hooper, U. S. Revenue Cutter *Corwin*, Senate Document No. 204, pp. 113-114.

The first practical test of the endurance of reindeer in Alaska, and their adaptability to winter travel, was made in the winter of 1896-97, under the direction of Mr. W. A. Kjellman, superintendent of the station at Teller. Starting from this station on the 10th of December, with nine sleds and seventeen head of reindeer, he travelled southward to a station on the Kuskokwim River, about a thousand miles distant. "The course, while travelled by compass, was a zigzag one over unbeaten tracks, in order to better learn the extent and abundance of moss pasturage. Scaling high mountain ranges, shooting down precipitous declivities with toboggan speed, plodding through valleys filled with deeply-drifted snow, laboriously cutting a way through the man-high underbrush in the forest, or steering across the trackless tundra, never before trodden by the foot of white men; gliding over the hard-crusts snow, or wading through slush two feet deep on imperfectly frozen rivers, unknown to geographers, were the experiences of the trip."¹ This list does not exhaust the experiences of the journey, however, which has been fitly characterized as "the most remarkable one ever made by reindeer." One day there came an "arctic blizzard," against which neither man nor beast could stand upright. The reindeer were blown down—one was literally swept off the mountainside,—the loaded sleds were overturned, and the men, throwing themselves flat and thrusting their big hunting knives into the ground between the rocks, clung to their handles and to one another, to keep from being blown away. About a week after this extraordinary experience, the party encountered a succession of blinding snow-storms and were reduced to such straits that they were obliged to cut the railing from their sleds for fuel. When the last of these storms had passed away, the temperature fell to 73° below zero,

¹ Report on Introduction of Reindeer for 1903, p. 20.

“causing even the reindeer to break loose from their tethers and tramp ceaselessly around the tents for warmth.” Near the close of the journey there was one long stretch where, contrary to information, no moss was found. Hence, it was necessary to push on continuously for four days and three nights, without a morsel of food for the deer until a wooded tract was reached, where trees were cut down that the deer might feed on the black moss which hung from them. On this terrible march, five of the deer fell dead or helpless in their traces. The return journey was made to Teller without serious adventure. Thus a round trip of 2,000 miles on sledges, the longest on record, was made over an unmarked and unknown route, in the worst and most inclement season of the year. With a better knowledge of the route some of these dreadful experiences might have been avoided, but the experiment served its purpose in proving the capabilities of the deer for making such a journey, in case of necessity.

Not long after the return of this expedition, a case of urgent necessity did arise, which afforded another practical test of the endurance of these hardy animals and their value in connection with relief expeditions to those who were exposed to deadly peril, and beyond the ordinary reach of human help.

In the month of October, 1897, reliable information was received at Washington that eight whaling ships were ice-bound near Point Barrow, and that about 300 seamen on board these vessels were in danger of perishing from hunger unless succour could reach them early in the spring. To meet this emergency, President McKinley called a special session of his cabinet and invited Dr. Jackson to attend it and give his views as to the best method of relief. In brief his suggestion was to send the revenue cutter, *Bear*, then under the command of Captain Tuttle, to some point on the coast of Bering Sea,

within reach of Point Rodney and Cape Prince of Wales, where reindeer herds were stationed, and thence to proceed overland with dogs and reindeer, driving a herd before them to be slaughtered for food at the end of the journey. This suggestion was regarded as the most feasible plan of relief submitted, and in substance it was adopted. An expedition of this kind by sea and land, to the farthest limit of the continent in the dead of winter, was fraught with great danger, however, and the officials of the Department of the Treasury, to whom this undertaking was committed, called for volunteers. The officers of the *Bear*, and other Arctic explorers who had been associated with them in former cruises, promptly responded to the call. From this volunteer force, Lieutenants D. H. Jarvis and E. P. Bertholf and Dr. S. J. Call, surgeon of the vessel, were selected for the leaders of the overland portion of the journey.

On the 29th day of November, the *Bear* started in a blinding snow-storm from the harbour of Port Townsend, on this perilous journey. The objective point in Bering Sea was Sledge Island. When within seventy-five miles of the island, the ice closed in upon the vessel so closely and so firmly that the attempt to reach it was given up. After beating about in search of an open passage for a time, the vessel was headed for a village on Cape Vancouver. A landing at this point meant an increase to the overland journey of about 800 miles, but it seemed to be the only place where the rescue party could be put ashore at that season of the year. When this part of her mission was accomplished, the *Bear* returned to Dutch Harbour, Unalaska, for the winter. From a village in the vicinity of the landing-place, Lieutenant Jarvis secured a guide and some dog-teams, and, on the 18th of December, started northward for the reindeer stations already mentioned. After many days of hardships and peril

these stations were reached and a herd of 435 deer, of which eighteen were broken to harness, were secured. At Cape Prince of Wales, Mr. W. T. Lopp, the missionary in charge, and Artisarlook, a superintendent of one of the herds, were persuaded to accompany the party. From this place, Lieutenants Jarvis and Bertholf, with Dr. Call, continued the journey northward with dog-teams, depending upon reindeer meat to feed the dogs, when they could not secure fish. Missionary Lopp, with his herders, took charge of the deer. Thus equipped, the party pushed on through the Arctic night and cold and storms, driving the animals intended for food before them. This portion of the journey, by the route travelled, was not far short of a thousand miles.

On the 29th of March, the destitute whalers were reached, after an overland journey of three months and twelve days, and their immediate wants were supplied. The relief came none too soon, for bad sanitary conditions and the lack of proper food had brought the imprisoned men to the verge of great suffering, and sickness of a dangerous character had already broken out among them. A supply of fresh meat from the reindeer herd, improved sanitary conditions, imposed under the authority of government officers, and the revival of hope in the breasts of the men soon wrought a marvellous change in the situation. About 245 of the herd were slaughtered for food. No further inconvenience or suffering was experienced up to the arrival of the *Bear* in the early summer with a full supply of stores and provisions.

With a view to forestalling a calamity of this kind in the future, a permanent reindeer station was established in the vicinity of Point Barrow. The ultimate cost of this relief expedition was nearly \$100,000, or almost one-half as much as the total of the appropriations made by Congress for the introduction of reindeer into Alaska.

Had there been a herd of deer in the vicinity of this disaster, as there has been ever since, relief could have been afforded at once, and the necessity for a journey so long and perilous and an expense so enormous would have been avoided.

In a special message to the Fifty-fifth Congress, President McKinley paid this well-deserved tribute to the leaders of the expedition :—

The hardships and perils encountered by the members of the overland expedition in their great journey through an almost uninhabited region, a barren waste of ice and snow, facing death itself every day for nearly four months, over a route never before travelled by white men, with no refuge but at the end of the journey, carrying relief to 275 distressed citizens of our country, all make another glorious page in the history of American seamen. They reflect by their heroic and gallant struggles the highest credit upon themselves and the government which they faithfully served. I commend this heroic crew to the grateful consideration of Congress and the American people.

Referring to this expedition and the comments in general which had been made upon it, the governor of Alaska, the Hon. John G. Brady, stated in his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, 1899 :—

Who has ever seen a single notice of this event to the credit of the reindeer, the missionary, or the native? Attention was called last year to the heroism of the officers. It will surely compare with any act of bravery that has occurred within recent years, and we think that Congress should not allow another session to pass without giving them due recognition also.

It should be noted in this connection that the governor had in mind the fact that on this remarkable journey the herders and drivers were all Eskimos, and that in addition to the splendid service rendered by Missionary Lopp the party were aided and sheltered at every mission

station visited *en route*, as well as at the mission at Point Barrow. Nor should it be forgotten in the telling of the story that Mr. Lopp and his companion, instead of returning as did the others in the *Bear*, made the journey in reverse order over the same desolate wastes of ice and snow with a dog-team, as reindeer could not be spared from the herd at Barrow, reaching his home after an absence of nearly five months. During all this time, Mr. Lopp had left his heroic wife and dependent children alone at the station, the only white persons among 400 natives. His confidence in them was not misplaced, however, for during his absence Mrs. Lopp received nothing but courtesy and kindness.

An interesting adventure in reindeer sledding, of which Sheldon Jackson was the principal actor, is thus described by Mrs. Alice Palmer Henderson :—¹

Reindeer driving must be most exhilarating. They go straight ahead, over any obstacle, up hill and down dale with a determination to "get there" worthy of a ward politician, which reminds me of Dr. Jackson's experience. It was a dismal, drizzly day, and the six miles back to the cutter seemed to stretch into sixty. He decided to ride back on a sled over the wet and slippery tundra. With a Lapp at the head of each deer, for the reindeer were fresh, to steady them, he started. There was a little ravine ahead, perhaps ten feet wide; the deer took matters into their own hands by leaping across. Now the worthy doctor is not a rider to hounds, besides, the reindeer had not informed him that they meant to "take the ditch," so they and their reverend driver parted company hurriedly, and without words of farewell. The doctor turned a fantastic somersault, in no wise comporting with the dignity of the moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly—the onlookers insist it was a double somersault—and landed unhurt, but greatly surprised, on some bushes in the bottom of the ravine. Decidedly it gave him quite a turn. "Now, doctor," said I, when he told me about it, "honestly, I won't tattle, but was your language seemly to one of your cloth?" "I made no remarks what-

¹ "The Rainbow's End, Alaska," p. 205.

ever," he replied. "I was bereft of speech or breath to frame it. The young lieutenant who had accompanied me from the *Bear* just threw himself down in a transport and howled. As soon as I got together enough fragments of breath to join in, I did so. It was one of the funniest things I ever saw, if the joke was on myself."

There is nothing in the records of the Bureau of Education to show that its efficient agent in Alaska had availed himself of this new mode of transportation in visiting his Arctic missions and schools after this humiliating experience; but it did not repress his enthusiasm in advocating the general use of these nimble animals for a like purpose when driven by people who knew their peculiar ways and had learned the knack of handling them in the crossing of difficult places.¹

With the incoming of a host of adventurers, after the discovery of gold in the Klondike and along the valley of the Yukon, the matter of transportation became an important consideration. As the result of several tests, wherever reindeer could be obtained, it was found that they could draw a much heavier load than the dogs which were broken to harness, could travel farther in a day, and could be taken on long journeys without the necessity for making any provision beforehand for their own food supply.

In his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, in 1889, Governor Brady says :—

The great question is how to get more of these animals. Since the excitement at Cape Nome began, the whites are be-

¹ As a fitting sequel to this story it should be said that the sled was righted after this flying leap, and the rest of the way the reindeer took their Alaskan friend over the tundra, across the mountain, up and down the steep sides of the ravines and landed him safe and sound on the beach in an astonishingly short time.—*Home Mission Monthly*, March, 1897, p. 107.

ginning to understand what utility is in a reindeer. There is great competition now for the purchase of the skin for clothing. The price has gone up from \$1.50 to \$8 and \$10 for a summer pelt. The meat brought in from Siberia by schooners was selling at \$1 per pound. The draft animals were used last winter in conveying government stores to Cape Nome, and in hauling for the missionaries, who had claims on Anvil Creek.

During the same year, Hank Summers, a pioneer resident of Northern Alaska, when asked by a reporter of the *Sitka Alaskan*, what he thought of the reindeer experiment, said :—

The reindeer are the salvation of that northern country. I have used all kinds of animals that could be gotten into that country ; but I will never use anything else hereafter but the reindeer. They are just the proper animal for our use, and the government did wisely when it acted upon the suggestion of Dr. Jackson and secured the reindeer. They are breeding quite rapidly and find an abundance of food.

When asked how the natives took to the reindeer, Mr. Summers replied :—

They are more than delighted with them ; and why should they not be ? They furnish them with milk—a luxury they have never had before, and they furnish them with the best mode of conveyance they have ever had on land. The flesh keeps them from starving, while the hides furnish them with clothes. And they know how to handle them, also, being much more expert than the Lapps. In fact I would not have any one else to handle them for me, and hire no one but natives. Yes, I cannot say too much in praise of the reindeer. They are a decided success.

When Mr. Summers' attention was called to the facts that all the papers in Alaska except the *Alaskan*, "had scored Dr. Jackson and the government for bringing the reindeer into Alaska, and Governor Brady for favouring the plan, and that one grand jury had gone so far out of

its way as to endeavour to besmirch the character of Dr. Jackson for his work in securing them, and denounced the experiment as a wilful waste of money," he smiled and said :—

They simply do not know what they are talking about. They are talking at random. I have been mining and packing along the Yukon, the Bering Sea, Kotzebue Sound, and in the Arctic Circle for fifteen years, and have never found anything so useful for packing, hauling, or for food as the reindeer. They are a Godsend to the country, and any one who says differently simply does not know what he is talking about. Won't you come and have an "eye-opener"?

"No, thank you," said the reporter, "your information has been considerable of an eye-opener. I had a faint idea that the grand jury knew something about reindeer, but I was evidently mistaken."¹

Dana Thomas, another man of wide experience in matters relating to transportation, wrote to Dr. Jackson, from Kotzebue, Alaska, July 1, 1904 :—

Personally, I was not particularly enthusiastic over the reindeer when I first landed here two years ago, but I am "wiser to-day than yesterday," and have not the slightest doubt now that the introduction of domestic reindeer into Alaska will, within a few years, be the main source of the greatest good to not only the natives but the whites as well. I venture the assertion that the reindeer will in the near future bring more wealth and happiness to the people of this district than all the gold and silver that is delivered from Alaskan mines.²

Such testimony from practical, far-seeing, unprejudiced men, furnishes the best reply to the foolish assertions and slanderous reports so persistently circulated concerning Dr. Jackson and his work in Alaska.

Another important work for which the reindeer were

¹ Reindeer Report for 1899, p. 157.

² Reindeer Report for 1904, p. 116.

found to be specially adapted was the carrying of the United States mail to remote villages on the Arctic coast and along the interior routes between newly-opened trading-posts or mining camps. In 1899, Dr. Jackson secured the establishment of the first Reindeer Post Route in the United States.

It extended from St. Michaels, on the coast of Bering Sea, to Kotzebue, within the Arctic Circle. The contract called for three round trips during the winter. The route was through a dreary wilderness in which there was no sign of beaten trail, and the distance going and returning for each trip, was 1,240 miles. To the satisfaction of all parties, this service was rendered according to contract. In autumn of the same year another contract was given for a semi-monthly winter service between Nome and Eaton station, a distance of 240 miles. Five successful trips, four of which were with deer and sleds, were made over this route after the first day of March. "On the second trip the reindeer passed dogs and a bicycle that had passed Eaton two days before the deer started; reached Nome, rested thirty hours, and started on the return trip before the dog-team arrived."¹ At later dates, several new routes were established by the post-office department, including one between Kotzebue and Point Barrow. By way of Point Hope the distance between these places, both of which are within the Arctic Circle, is 650 miles. The first round trip—1,300 miles—was made with a team of reindeer continuously, there being no relay stations on the route. This was found to be too fatiguing for the team and for a time dog-teams, which could be changed at the villages along the route, were used. As soon thereafter as relay stations could be established, the service with reindeer was resumed. The privileges which this

¹ Reindeer Report for 1900, p. 24.

service brought to the teachers, government agents and traders, along this route are continued to this day.

As a result of these practical tests it has been ascertained that reindeer, when used in relays of about fifty miles apart, can travel with a sled carrying 200 or 300 pounds from thirty to fifty miles a day. Hence to meet the changing conditions of the country, and provide for the transportation of mail, passengers, and a limited amount of freight, chains of reindeer stations, about 100 miles apart, are being gradually established, along all the important lines of travel on the eastern coasts of Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean; up the Yukon, Koyukuk, and Kuskokwim Rivers; and far into the interior, where the trader and the miner have established their posts or located their camps. Along one or two of these trunk lines, which are furnishing increased facilities for reaching and civilizing the native population, as well as for the development of the resources of the country, the "Reindeer Express" is now racing from stage to stage with well-filled pouches of mail; and it is safe to say that this is but the beginning of these improved modes of transportation. A recent writer who has been studying this problem may not be far wrong when he says:—

It is hardly possible that, owing to the large snow-drifts, any known form of transportation will take its place. And if the mineral industry continues to grow, fifty thousand teams of reindeer will not supply the needs of the inhabitants.¹

As a result of these practical tests, adverse criticisms, based upon ignorance and prejudice, have been refuted, and the voice of calumny has been silenced. It has been proved, says a government official, to the satisfaction of every fair-minded person, who has taken the trouble to post himself on the subject, that reindeer are an unqualified success, both as a means of

¹ William N. Armstrong, article in *Southern Workman*, April, 1904, p. 215.

transportation and as a source of supplies for most of the necessities of life in the Alaskan country.

The solving of this problem in the interests of a needy, dependent people, has awakened great interest in scientific and commercial circles in foreign countries, as well as in the United States. Many letters of inquiry or of congratulation have been received by Dr. Jackson or the department which he represents, from eminent men in England, Germany, Denmark, Canada, Labrador, and other countries.

To the Secretary of the Interior, under date of May 25th, 1900, a distinguished barrister in Canada, who has followed the development of the reindeer enterprise with much interest, wrote :—

Your work in Alaska, through Dr. Jackson, appears to be ideal in every respect. At three different points I have written Canadians to look carefully into his work, and find that it is highly prized in the mining camps as among scientists.

Our coast line from 142 degrees to the north of Nelson, some 3,000 miles, is without a single school, and I hope to do something for the poor Eskimo through schools and the reindeer.

As a result of similar investigations and inquiries a number of reindeer purchased in Norway have already been successfully introduced into Dr. Grenfell's immense "parish" on the bleak coast of Labrador. In every step of this undertaking the officials of the "Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen" availed themselves of the experience and counsel of Dr. Jackson and with hearty enthusiasm he responded to their desire for information and assistance.

The following letter from the secretary of this mission is interesting as showing Dr. Jackson's relation to this project and the appreciation manifested for his kindly services and suggestions :—

ROYAL NATIONAL MISSION TO DEEP SEA FISHERMEN,
*Head Office, Bridge House, 161 Queen Victoria
 Street, London, 19th December, 1907.*

DEAR DOCTOR SHELDON JACKSON :—

You will rejoice to hear that the reindeer were successfully started on their voyage across the Atlantic on Saturday last (Dec. 14, 1907). The arrangements went off without a hitch of any kind, and as they seem to be experiencing extremely mild weather on the other side of the Atlantic, there is no reason to anticipate trouble in landing the deer on their arrival at St. Anthony, North Newfoundland.

I handed in the information about this departure of the steamship *Anita*, with the deer on board, to Reuter's Agency, and they promised to cable the news across to America, so it is possible you are already aware of the information I am sending you, but I am so exceedingly grateful to you for all the interest and trouble you took, that I feel I must send you a special line to ensure your having early intimation of the successful issue of my efforts in connection with Dr. Grenfell's reindeer scheme.

You will be specially interested to learn that I have reëngaged a couple of your Alaska Laplanders.

Believe me to be,—Faithfully yours,

(Signed) FRANCIS H. WOOD, Secretary.

Thus on the eastern coast of North America the good work inaugurated by Sheldon Jackson on the western coast of Alaska, is being reproduced and extended by Dr. Grenfell, the heroic medical missionary and pioneer evangelist of Labrador.

In summarizing the tangible results of the reindeer enterprise in Alaska, two facts should be taken into the account, *viz.* :—

1. That the deer landed at Teller Station, Port Clarence, on the 4th of July, 1892, and those added to them during that summer,—171 all told—were the beginning of the present herd in Alaska. No additions were made to it by natural increase from the herd which was imported from Lapland.

2. That the whole number of deer purchased in Siberia

and transported to Alaska from that date (1892) to the present time is 1,280.

In the annual report of the Commissioner of Education for 1906, the latest complete report to date the average annual increase of the several herds by fawns from 1893 to 1906 is quoted at forty-four per cent. The following items taken from this report are interesting as showing the distribution, ownership, number of deer sold for food, etc. :—

Total number of deer in Alaska, distributed at fifteen central stations,	12,828
Number of reindeer sold by owners, butchered, or died, 1892-1906,	5,314
Number of sled deer, broken to harness at the several stations,	628
Receipts for authorized sales of male deer to butchers and others for 1906,	\$10,574

The ownership of reindeer in Alaska in 1906 was given as follows :—

Government, 3,321; Missions, 2,549; Laplanders, 1,787; Eskimo, 5,153; White men, eighteen. The 5,153 deer reported above were owned by ninety-nine Eskimos, but it is estimated that the total number of Eskimos devoting their time to the management and care of the herds is about 400.

The advance sheets of the annual report for 1907 give the total number of reindeer at the several stations on July 1st, as about 15,840.

The statistics for the year 1908 cannot be received or tabulated before the autumn season, or the beginning of the next year, but at the present rates of increase the total number should be about 18,000 by the 4th day of July, 1908, the sixteenth anniversary of the landing of the first herd at Port Clarence.

These figures indicate, beyond all question, or doubt, that the reindeer industry is now well established in Alaska. It has become a part of its educational system and has the hearty support and good-will of every one of the ministers and teachers in the thirty-eight or more missionary settlements which now dot the surface of the habitable portion of the territory of Alaska. It has awakened energies and ambitions which hitherto have lain dormant; it has furnished an object lesson to the natives in economizing their possessions and is doing its part alongside of the Church and school in transforming "the starving, dying Eskimos into well-fed, self-supporting, and self-respecting American citizens."

Referring to this practical phase of home mission work, the well-known pastor of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., said in a recent address:—

The work of home missions brings something else beside apocalyptic visions for a spiritual rhapsody. It is practical. One of our most devoted and honoured home missionaries, Dr. Sheldon Jackson, saw in the Russian reindeer a substitute for an improvement upon the Alaskan dog for travel, and the full answer to the Alaskan's isolation and hunger and destitution. It meant the endurance and development of the Alaskan.

In the face of indifference, jeer, and hostile attacks, and at personal sacrifice, he imported the reindeer and at last confirmed him as the exact need and promise for that country. We hear a good deal about the Alaskan reindeer to-day, and we will hear more to-morrow. The politician is as eager now to claim, as he was before to repudiate and hinder. Do not let it be forgotten that this advance in civilization is due not to the politician, but to one Presbyterian missionary—and its merit has so commended itself to Dr. Grenfell, of the Labrador Mission, that he announces his intention to secure for Labrador what Dr. Jackson secured for Alaska.¹

¹ Extract from home mission address, by Dr. Wallace Radcliffe, Feb. 17, 1907.

With appreciation as intelligent and hearty, the late Dr. Teunis S. Hamlin, of the Church of the Covenant, of the same city, wrote :—

I regard Dr. Jackson as the hero *par excellence* of our frontier religious life. His courage, faith, and persistence are remarkable. He has a statesman-like grasp, and in the matter of the reindeer has made “good” against the doubt and cavil of leading public men. He is easily the old Hebrew prophet *redivivus* as to Alaska in education, politics, and religion.

“The future of the Alaskan natives,” says Mr. Edward B. Clark, “seems to be provided against want by the forethought of this missionary who, in the face of ridicule, had the courage of his convictions so strongly developed that he kept everlastingly at his work until the end was crowned with success. It seems probable that the Eskimo, because of the reindeer, will be saved from the fate of other aboriginal people whose land has been invaded and industries interrupted by the all-conquering Caucasians.”¹

As a fitting close to this chapter, we add the testimony of Mr. Robert Stein, of the United States Geological Survey :—“The brightest prospect for all Alaska lies perhaps in the eminently successful experiments of Dr. Sheldon Jackson to introduce the tame Siberian reindeer.”²

¹ Article entitled “How Jackson Saved the Eskimo,” *Technical World Magazine*, March, 1907, p. 26.

² Article in *Review of Reviews*, June, 1898, p. 699.

XIX

STRENUOUS LABOURS AND MEMORABLE EVENTS (1895-1898)

"If a great thing can be done at all, it can be done easily ; but it is that kind of ease with which a tree blossoms, after long years of gathering strength."—*John Ruskin.*

"If a man can write a better book, preach a better sermon—or make a better mouse-trap than his neighbour, though he build his house in the woods, the world will make a beaten path to his door."—*Emerson.*

FROM the reindeer excursus, which has carried us far afield, we come back in the order of time to the events belonging to the latter half of the decade of the nineties. In the spring of 1895, Dr. Jackson delegated the supervision of the summer's work in Western and Arctic Alaska to his assistant, William Hamilton, and with a view to inaugurating some special work in the Sitka district, gave his personal attention to that section of the field.

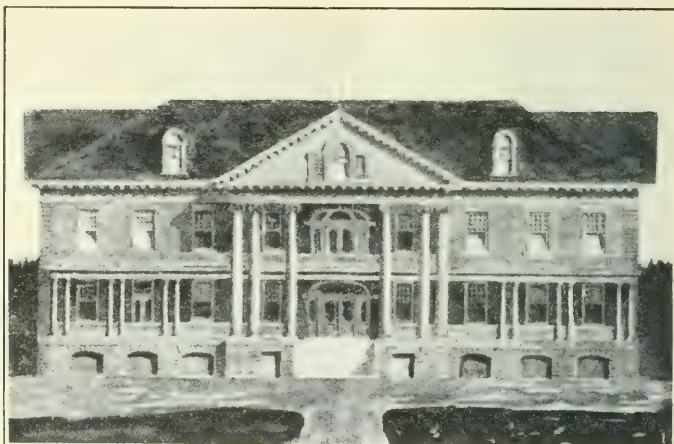
A notable episode on the journey to the Pacific coast, where he had arranged to take a steamer for Sitka, was a conference, assembled by previous appointment, with some of the leading ministers of the Presbytery of Utah, which resulted in the founding of Westminster College, at Salt Lake City. In common with his brethren, who were labouring amid many discouragements in that portion of the mission field, where he himself had toiled at the foundations for so many years, Sheldon Jackson was impressed with the urgent necessity for a Christian college to crown the work of the four Presbyterian academies, and twenty or more mission schools already estab-

lished in Utah. For the purpose of giving a start to this enterprise, he offered to deed to a board of trustees who should be chosen by the presbytery, under certain conditions, some valuable real estate located in Washington City. This offer was accepted with hearty thanks, and the following spring the property was transferred to a board of trustees so appointed. With characteristic energy, Jackson went to work as he had opportunity, to add to this gift by public and private appeals, so that the work of organization might be commenced at the earliest possible moment. For some years following, he provided funds for the support of a president, and also succeeded in securing for the institution, or in diverting to its use, --many thousands of dollars.

In recognition of this generous and timely aid, apart from which this important work would doubtless have been long delayed, Dr. Jackson was acknowledged by the official action of the trustees as the founder of the college, and is so designated in its official records.

Without waiting for costly buildings and elaborate equipments, the friends of this enterprise in Utah secured a charter, in which provision was made for a liberal and extensive range of studies, and began the work of organization and instruction in a modest way, with such materials and equipments as they could command at the time.

The able and devoted pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Salt Lake City, Dr. R. G. McNiece, who had laboured and prayed through many years for the inauguration of this crowning work of our educational system in Utah, gave up his pastorate in order that he might devote all his energies to its interests, and the Hon. John Eaton, formerly the United States Commissioner of Education, who was also deeply impressed with its immediate importance, consented to serve for a time as its first president.



Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

1. Woman's Building. 2. Converse Hall (Administration Building).

Through many difficulties and grievous disappointments the friends and supporters of Westminster College worked on in faith and hope towards the day of better things which is now dawning. A few years ago, its existence and permanent location were assured by the gift of a new and attractive site of twenty-one acres in the southeastern part of the city. This generous offering was made by Col. Wm. M. Ferry, of Park City, Utah. Upon this beautiful site the main building of the college, a handsome structure admirably adapted for its purpose, has been already erected. The funds required for the erection of a beautiful residence hall for young women have been recently secured and the building is now in process of erection. A similar building for young men, to cost a like amount—\$25,000—has also been promised.

With the consent of the Woman's Board the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, on the fulfillment of certain conditions, is to be permanently attached to the college as a preparatory department, and the presbytery has provided a course of study, graded from the mission schools up through its four academic schools and the college. Thus all the departments of educational work under the care of the Church have been brought into harmony.

The special feature of the tour of 1895, of which the founding of Westminster College was but an incident, was the location of the site for a central village and mission school for the Cape Fox and Port Tongas Thlingets. For eighteen years, the natives of this portion of the country had been pleading for a school; but as they were much scattered it was made a condition of securing this privilege that they should come together in one settlement. In the winter of 1886-87, Professor Saxman, with two natives, one of whom was the young evangelist, Louis Paul, were drowned while searching for a suitable location for this settlement, and for the time, the

enterprise was abandoned. Negotiations were reopened with a view to the consummation of this project after the arrival of Dr. Jackson, and a council of the tribe held on the 5th of July resulted in the choice of a location for the proposed village at the lower end of Tongas Narrows. The place was visited soon afterwards, carefully looked over and the erection of a building large enough to include a schoolroom and a residence for a teacher was commenced and almost completed during the following month. The new settlement, whose location was thus assured, was named Saxman, in honour of the government teacher who lost his life in the attempt to bring about this long desired consummation. The establishment of a government school was the first step in the direction of permanent occupation of the village, but little in the way of real union, substantial progress, or the spiritual enlightenment of its inhabitants was accomplished until the summer of 1898, when the Rev. Edward Marsden, a full-blooded native minister, who had received his early training at Metlahkatlah and the industrial school at Sitka, was commissioned by the Board of Home Missions for this field. He was then but twenty-four years of age and yet had been graduated with honour at Marietta College and Lane Theological Seminary. Meanwhile, as he had opportunity, he had studied law and medicine. His varied attainments are thus described by Mrs. Alice Palmer Henderson, who cites him as a conspicuous example of the work which Sheldon Jackson and his associates have done and are doing for Alaska :—

“He is an intellectual giant, yet, like Nehemiah of old, ‘works with both hands earnestly.’ He has thoroughly mastered several trades, is a carpenter, shoemaker, cooper, and musician. He composes, and adapts scores from piano to cornet. He played at the World’s Co-

lumbian Exposition. Like a Japanese he watches and tries everything."

It was the aim of this young pastor from the first to build up a settlement which should embody all the amenities and advantages of a practical Christianity, and his work, which he still carries on, albeit amid many discouragements, has effected a wonderful transformation in life and character as well as in the comforts and physical well-being of the community which he influences and over which he practically holds rule.

In the *Home Mission Prayer Calendar* he is aptly described as "the preacher, teacher, lawyer, doctor, nurse and business adviser of his people." He began his work by clearing several acres of ground, the building of houses of a modern type, the construction of a new steam-boat wharf and the organization of a town government. Following these in due course were the erection of a saw-mill, the establishing industrial works of various kinds, the organization of a church, the erection of a house of worship and the building of a steam launch, "for missionary relief expeditions, itinerary work and business." In his report for 1901 he says :—

Although the work has its discouragements and dark side, we will pass these by for we are so glad to report that the light of God has really entered the hearts of these people. They are awakened and the word of God is searched earnestly and carefully studied. Every night we have prayer-meetings in the homes of the people. We have also singing classes. One Sunday a whole family, father, mother, and six children, came forward to be baptized. All our services are well attended.

To those who do not look beyond the temporal results of mission work, this is success. It cannot be limited to this, however, for its reach goes far beyond. Surely the outcome of that summer's work, and the wonderful

transformation wrought by a Christian education upon the young native who followed it up, ought to be a sufficient justification of the motives and patient labours of the noble men and women, who, in the face of opposition and prejudice, have sought to bring the light to those who were sitting within the region and shadow of death.

In the spring of 1896, Dr. Jackson was selected to represent the work of the missionary force of the country at the front in a great "Home Mission Rally" which was held in the Carnegie Music Hall, on the 3d of March, under the auspices of the Presbytery of New York. The meeting was called for the purpose of reducing a crushing debt,—the accumulation of several years of financial depression,—which at that time amounted to the sum of \$234,000. It was one of the most remarkable assemblies of its kind in the history of the Presbyterian Church. Every portion of the great hall from floor to the topmost height of its four galleries was filled to overflowing. The platform was occupied by ministers of the presbytery, members of the Mission Boards, visiting ministers and distinguished guests and it is estimated that fully 4,000 persons awaited the signal for the opening of the service. The President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, who had accepted the invitation to preside over this vast assemblage, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Talmage, Dr. Thompson, secretary of the Home Board and one representative outside the Presbyterian fold, Booker T. Washington, were the speakers of the evening.

The address of Dr. Jackson, which followed the earnest and deeply sympathetic words of President Cleveland, was an able presentation of the needs, the possibilities, the vast extent, and the marvellous transformations already wrought in that portion of the land which was or now is known as home mission territory. In contrast

with the wondrous progress which had been made, a series of successes not excelled even by the apostolic church, he described the reaction which had come over the Church, the sinking of hearts on the mission fields, because of the halt that had been called in the midst of unprecedented success in spiritual advances, and the sad results which attended the closing of mission schools and the sending back to heathenism and vice the children who were being trained in the principles of righteousness and purity in heart and life.

This meeting did not accomplish the object to any great extent which its promoters had in view, but it did give the cause which all the speakers, who so ably presented it, desired, a prominence and an uplift which in the end were productive of good results.

During the summer of 1896, the usual tour of inspection to Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean was made, by way of Sitka and Unalaska. This trip, which included a sum total of 18,465 miles, occupied a little more than five months. At the entrance to Port Clarence, which was reached in July, heavy ice-floes, the original ice of the previous winter, extended eight miles out to sea and obstructed the passage of the vessel. The station at this point, off which the captain expected to anchor in a few hours, was not reached until nineteen days thereafter, most of which were spent in beating about amid fogs and ice-drifts in the hope of finding a way of entrance. For the first time in fifty years at this season of the year the whalers were unable to get into the harbour of Port Clarence and were obliged to take refuge on the lee side of King's Island.

At Cape Blossom in Kotzebue Sound Mr. David Johnson and his native assistant of the Swedish Evangelical Union Missionary Society were landed in a heavy surf on a desolate coast, to begin a new mission among the people

of that section. "Mr. Johnson was left among these wild people," says Dr. Jackson, "without a house to shelter him, without anything wherewith to build a house, with no protection of courts, policemen or government within 3,000 miles, with nothing but a few pounds of provisions for the winter, throwing himself upon the barbarous people among whom he expected to work. His strong, heroic faith made an impression upon the officers and crew of the ship."

On the morning of the 8th of August, the *Bear*, after threading its way through ice-floes of enormous size, reached a position opposite the whaling station at Point Barrow, but an impenetrable barrier of ice, the piling of berg upon berg, closed the way of approach to the place of landing. After five days, measured by the watch,—for the sun was shining at the hour of retiring as well as at the hour of rising—the ship reached a position from which the supplies for the station could be landed, and was moored to a grounded iceberg six miles long and about half a mile wide. This giant mass of polar ice had drifted in from the sea eleven months before. Among the items of supplies landed at the time for the lone missionary at this station, mention is made of fifteen tons of coal, 150 gallons of coal-oil, four boxes of navy crackers and sixteen sacks of flour.

From Unalaska to Sitka, the return voyage was made on the United States revenue cutter *Wolcott*. A storm of exceptional violence, lasting for about a week, made this portion of the voyage very uncomfortable for all on board, and at times it was doubtful whether the vessel would be staunch enough to weather the gale. The modern expedient of "oiling the waves" brought temporary relief from the surge of the billows which threatened to engulf it and a partial immunity, at least, from serious danger. Out of eight trips made across this broad expanse of the



Sheldon Jackson's fur suit for summer use in Alaska.

North Pacific, between Sitka and Unalaska, Sheldon Jackson reckons only one during which he was free from seasickness.

In the year 1897, a new direction was given to his travels by the discovery of rich deposits of gold at Dawson City and other points up the valley of the Klondike. These discoveries had already attracted attention to the Yukon River, which offered the easiest and safest route to the Klondike regions, and settlements were already springing up at many points along the line of this route. To reach these new settlements and make provision for the supply of their needs, this general agent of Church and state with his accustomed foresight and alertness planned a tour of exploration up this mighty river from St. Michaels to Dawson, in connection with his annual tour of visitation to Western Alaska and the coasts of Bering Sea.

At the request of the Secretary of Agriculture, he also undertook the additional labour of investigating the agricultural capabilities of the Yukon Valley, in connection with this proposed journey. At its close he presented an official report of his investigations to the chief of that department.

On the eve of his departure for this far country, of which as yet so little was known, Dr. Jackson was nominated as a candidate for Moderator of the General Assembly, which met at Winona Lake, on the 20th of May. This nomination was warmly supported in addresses of rare eloquence, and when the hour of decision came he was elected to this office, the highest in honour and influence within the gift of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, by an exceptionally large majority. This distinguished honour and the interesting incidents and events associated with it merit something more than a passing notice, for in the person of this representative

of the dauntless workers on the frontier the cause of home missions was honoured and exploited as never before in the history of the Presbyterian Church.

Before the meeting of the assembly there had been a friendly discussion in the leading denominational papers with respect to the merits and special fitness of six eminent men whose names had been proposed by zealous friends and advocates for the office of moderator. The honoured names mentioned in this connection were Dr. Robert F. Sample of New York, Dr. Wilbur Chapman of Philadelphia, Dr. Henry Minton of San Francisco, Dr. Sheldon Jackson of Alaska, and Ruling Elders John Wanamaker and Ex-President Harrison. As the time drew near for the decision, the contest was narrowed by the withdrawal of all the names on this honour list except those of Dr. Henry Minton and Dr. Jackson. Five days before the election the *Pittsburg Dispatch* made the following forecast, which proved to be a very accurate representation of the actual situation :—

The Rev. Dr. Henry Minton will be urged on the ground that the office should go to the Pacific coast. His personal following is large, and the Washington and Jefferson men will support him solidly, unless Dr. Sample of New York should be named and divide the vote. Dr. Minton is well backed up by the Pacific coast, the Pennsylvania and the Kentucky delegations, and his prospects are roseate. Rev. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, whose name is talismanic, and whose career of forty years in the home mission work, mostly in the Rocky Mountains, reads like a romance, will be placed in nomination by one of the leading orators of the Church, "the Plumed Knight," in a speech which the friends of Dr. Jackson hope will carry the assembly off its feet, and place Dr. Jackson in the moderator's chair with a whirl. In the life and work of this distinguished missionary there is basis for a fervid speech.

In all the forecasts of this friendly but spirited contest, it was conceded that Dr. Minton was a very formidable

opponent. His eminent ability was recognized by all, and his winsome personality had attracted and retained a host of enthusiastic friends in the East as well as in the West.

Dr. Gray of *The Interior* was one of the first to propose and advocate the nomination of "the little missionary delegate from Alaska." In one of his confidential moods this sprightly journalist left on record some interesting facts relating to a "camp-fire" which was held by the Jackson men, on the arrival of the delegates, to consider the situation :—

Arriving on the grounds, Dr. Spining soon appeared. The situation apparently was that the whole earth, including the principalities and powers in high places, were for Dr. Minton. We were told that Pennsylvania was solid for him. New York City certainly was. All of New Jersey wanted Minton. The Pacific slope was for him as one man. General Harrison was for him, and as he was on the H's and would vote early in the roll call, his influence would be felt, though he desired only to vote his preference, and influence nobody. On Wednesday the candidacy of the popular Dr. Chapman was promoted and the word went to all of Jackson's leading friends that the people had left our David and were following after—but I must not follow the illustration. It only works part of the way—I will only say that Chapman is good-looking and the rank and file of Israel like him very much—and we all liked him too. These discouraging words were carried to Dr. Spining, who replied : "Shut up! Jackson will be the moderator." The combination for Dr. Minton did look irresistible, and it was more formidable than we supposed because we imagined that the evangelist Chapman would be more favourable to the missionary than to the theological professor.

There was a man whom I had heard talking on the train as I went down, but had not obtained his name, and set about searching for him. About half-past ten Wednesday night General Eaton came and said he had found him—that he was the Rev. Richard M. Hayes, D. D., of Oregon, but that he had gone to bed. We went to the Woman's Building and asked to see him. He sent word that he had retired and would see us in the morning, but like Peter we "continued knocking."

He came down, agreed to make the seconding speech, and then said, "Brethren, we must spend part of this night in prayer." That was assented to as the only politics available in such an emergency. If we could get God for Jackson, we would not be afraid of the combination—and it appears that we did. I am quite sure that it was the praying which resulted in the touching of the lips of Spining and Hayes with such divine fire.

The nomination proper seems to have been a spontaneous tribute of regard from the ruling elder of a home mission church in Wisconsin. It was not on the program, as arranged by Dr. Gray and his friends, but was all the more effective and impressive on that account.

After the nomination of Dr. Minton by Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman in an able address,—himself a favourite candidate in the minds of many delegates,—and a speech seconding that nomination by Dr. Henry Ward, of Buffalo, there was a slight pause, broken, however, by the rising of this almost unknown representative, Elder H. J. Morrison, who said :—

Mr. Moderator :—I nominate Dr. Sheldon Jackson. I have no set speech to make in his behalf, but merely wish to say that I first met him in 1878 at the General Assembly in Pittsburg, and for nearly twenty years have followed him in his work. I wish that this General Assembly may be known as the "Missionary Assembly," and to help to make it so, I want the greatest home missionary to preside. I hope Dr. Sheldon Jackson will be elected moderator.

After this nominating address, one of the shortest, perhaps, on record, Dr. Spining was recognized and came to the platform to make his plea for the election of Sheldon Jackson. Dr. Gray, who secured a revised copy of the address and published it a short time afterwards, "just as it was delivered," introduced it with the following statement :—

"The address was impromptu, and grew out of imme-

diate circumstances. The appropriateness of the opening paragraph will only be perceived when it is explained that a pretty strong pressure was made to have Dr. Jackson withdraw, to save him the humiliation of a light support. . . . We make bold to express the conviction that this speech of Dr. Spining has never been equalled as an example of impromptu eloquence in any modern religious assembly, and by very few in the forum of the legislators.”

DR. SPINING'S ADDRESS

MODERATOR, FATHERS, AND BRETHREN :—Once upon a time when Mr. Beecher was absent, his committee on pulpit supply ventured to engage a certain Congregational “rough diamond” from the backwoods of Missouri to fill the pulpit of the great preacher for a single Sabbath. A moment before service they took him aside, reminded him that he was soon to find himself before an audience which represented the brains, wealth and culture of America, and kindly exhorted him not to be afraid, but to go ahead and deliver his message. Upon entering the pulpit he stepped to the front, shaded his eyes with his hand, scanned his audience critically, and began as follows : “So this is the congregation of the great Mr. Beecher! Your deacons have just cautioned me not to be frightened, but to go ahead and preach as I would to my own people. Now, you bald-headed sinners and gray-haired saints, I want you to understand in the beginning that if any one in this house is scared he isn't on this platform, for I have a message from my Master to deliver to you, and I intend to deliver it in the fear of God.”

It is with a feeling akin to this that I venture to take the platform for a few minutes in presence of this vast audience, to present the claims of Dr. Sheldon Jackson for the highest honour the Church can confer, not only on account of his splendid and incomparable services in the field of missionary activity, but because he is the incarnation of that aggressive and consecrated missionary spirit to which I believe the Master would give expression in all the deliberations of this assembly. Too long have we been standing with the angel of the backward look—too long flailing the earth and blinding our eyes with the

dust of a dying controversy. In the meantime, our missionary forces at home and abroad have had their supplies cut off; our Church Boards have all been wounded and crippled; appropriations in every direction have been cut down; the humiliating order of halt and even retreat has passed to the frontier; outposts for which we have fought, and upon which we have expended the toil and treasure of years in heroic effort, have been surrendered; unhappy dissensions too long prolonged have wrought distrust and weakened fraternal bonds; hard times have tightened our grip on our purse-strings and weakened our faith in God; spiritual stupor has come upon us and the Delilah of self-indulgence has sought to bind us hand and foot with cords of avarice, indifference and worldliness, so that the condition of the great Presbyterian Church to-day is like that of a slumbering giant awaiting the cry, "Samson, Samson, awake! 'The Philistines are upon thee!'"

If I know anything of the Church at large, the Church we represent—the prayer of those who get nearest to God—it is that we should turn our faces from the past towards the future, and from controversy to conquest. In this connection I venture to say that no man in this assembly has done more to win this land for Christ than Sheldon Jackson—little Sheldon Jackson. True, he is diminutive in stature, but I think it is evident that Providence cut him off short that he might fit the Indian ponies which were to carry him over thousands of miles of mountain trails, that he might be able to sleep in barrels, buckboards, stage-boots, kyacks and hollow logs, in his "journeyings often" over the great mountains, plains and waters of the West; that he might accommodate himself to the narrow quarters of the cabin of the miner, the mud hut of the Mexican, the hovel of the Alaskan, the tepee of the Indian, and the scant accommodations of the prison cell—all of which he has done in planting the standard of the cross over that western country.

"'Neath the mantel of a century,
Lo, a mighty empire lies,
On whose brow millennial glory
Of the Church of God shall rise."

Naturally, he should be our standard-bearer. Is the loyalty of this man called in question? Let us test it not by the sounding brass and tinkling cymbals of party shibboleths and

factionous strife, but by the apostolic tests of hardness endured, of life imperilled, of fidelity in the face of imprisonment and death, of unwearied activity and of splendid achievement.

The great state of New York claims the honour of his nativity; Union College gave him his classical equipment, while Princeton moulded his theology, and now points with pride to his heroic career as an example of her missionary spirit.

Forty years ago, when many of us were in our cradles, he crossed the frontier of the Mississippi as a trusted standard-bearer of the cross, and from that time to this he has been charged with the responsibility of laying the foundations of a colossal church in Minnesota, Iowa, Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and far-off Alaska. He has been one of that noble band of pioneers who carved presbyteries out of the wilderness and erected synods before the foundations of civil government were laid. Penetrating thousands of miles into the barbaric night of that great empire which lay between the Mississippi and the Pacific, the Gulf of Mexico and the remotest habitation of man within the Arctic zone—carrying the Bible in one hand and our Confession in the other—he has gathered hundreds of congregations and founded a hundred churches on the Word of God and “according to the pattern shown us in the mount.” Deeds speak louder than words, and these churches which lighten up the wilderness and make glad the solitary place are to-day rolling up the long-meter doxology from the plains of Minnesota, the rock-ribbed mountains of Colorado, and the ice-bound shores of Alaska, praising God for the loyalty of this “one man” to the “Old Book” and to our Confession.

Has he executive ability and experience in handling difficult questions? The Church has already answered this question, and the United States government has shown its high estimate of his ability by entrusting him with the formation and superintendence of its whole educational system in Alaska. If it may be objected that this is a secular position, I answer that he is still a missionary of our Board, and I would God that more of our educational system throughout the land were taken from the hands of unbelief and placed in the hands of Christian men. It detracts nothing from the glory of the Church that many of her faithful servants have been honoured by the state with positions of great responsibility. If it does, then let us strike off the first and most illustrious of all the names in the roll of

our moderators—the name of the Rev. John Witherspoon, President of Princeton College, member of the Continental Congress, and signer of our immortal Declaration of Independence. In Sheldon Jackson we have not only the untiring missionary who has travelled 600,000 miles—a distance equal to twenty-four circuits of the globe in the prosecution of his work ; not only the educator who has founded a great institution of learning in Utah and endowed it with his patrimony, but we see in him the elements of the broad-minded statesman and great-hearted philanthropist, one of whom the future historian will write : “In a time of famine and distress, when their food supply was gone, he crossed the ice regions of the North, penetrated into the fastnesses of Siberia and saved the native races of Alaska by introducing large herds of reindeer for their subsistence and support.” Sir, this deed alone entitles him to the admiration of mankind, and will yet place his name in the Pantheon of philanthropy with all the honours of an uncrowned king.

Mr. Moderator, it is high time that the Church should show her appreciation of the splendid services of her home missionaries, by placing the highest honour within her gift upon the head of one of her battle-scarred veterans. How often within recent years has this honour gone to the seminaries ; how seldom, proportionately, has it fallen to the great body of pastors, and in not one single instance has it ever gone to a home missionary. If it is a legitimate object of ministerial ambition, are we to understand that service counts for nothing and there is no direct path to it from the home mission field.

Sir, it is recorded in Holy Writ that King Ahasuerus, in a wakeful hour, in reading the chronicles of his kingdom, stumbled across the record of the unrequited services of Mordecai, and touched with a feeling of gratitude cried out : “What honour or dignity hath been put upon this Mordecai ?” The chamberlains answered, “None.” “What shall be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour ?” was the next question. We all know the answer, and that Mordecai was made prime minister of his kingdom. In 1879, the Church was looking over its work in the foreign field, and came across the grand record of Dr. H. H. Jessup, who had been in the forefront of the battle on foreign fields for more than a quarter of a century. The same old questions raised by Ahasuerus came up, and Dr. Jessup was made prime minister of the Presbyterian Church for

that year. The result was a great quickening of interest in foreign missions.

The Church is now on its knees praying for peace and fraternal love—for a great quickening, a spiritual uplift which shall bring us face to face again with a perishing world and with the work we have to do for its redemption. One of the means to this end will be the election of a missionary leader of this assembly.

Brethren, I had a dream to-day, which was not all a dream. In my vision I saw a corridor reaching from this platform back and upward to the first century. Out of a door in that century came a man of small stature; bronzed, scarred, and weather-beaten; a dim halo of glory was about him, and while he wore the panoply of a soldier of the cross—he carried above him a tattered flag—like those of veteran soldiers returning from war. Upon it I read the names Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi and Rome, and as he reached this platform, I said to myself, Surely I cannot be mistaken, this is none other than the Apostle Paul, the great missionary to the Gentiles. I ventured to inform him as to the character of our assembly, and to assure him that the system of theology in which we believed was that which he had outlined as being in conformity with the Word of God. He seemed deeply interested, and after speaking to him of the growth of our Church and of our missionary work I offered to introduce him to some of the distinguished members of this assembly. “Here, for instance,” said I, “is Benjamin Harrison.” “Yes,” he replied, “a worthy successor of Washington—a Christian statesman, and an elder beloved. I would like to meet him, but not now, I will see him later.” I said, “Here is also General Wanamaker.” “Yes,” he answered, “I know his record from that of a poor boy, to wealth and high public position. I know his evangelical spirit, his liberality, his personal work—and that he hath built us a grand synagogue where Christ only is preached. I long to meet him—but wait awhile, I will see him later.” I said, “Here also is James A. Mount.” “Yes,” he answered, “he is governor of the great state of Indiana. An elder in a little country church—has ordered his household in the fear of God, has a daughter in the foreign field and a son a home missionary. I long to meet him—but not now, I will see him later.”

“Here,” said I, “is our moderator, Dr. Withrow, who has just swept the Gospel harp with a master hand and filled our

souls with the music of divine charity." "Yes," he replied, "he is a man after mine own heart—a beloved disciple—I must see him, but not now, I will see him later." I then remarked that we had some notable Christian women here. Mrs. James, Mrs. Pierson, and many others. "Yes," he answered, "they are all beloved helpers in the Lord—I must meet them also, but not now, I will see them later." "Who then," said I, "do you first wish to see?" He looked carefully over the assembly and then answered: "Is there not a little bronzed missionary from Alaska here—a man about my size—a man of weak eyes and insignificant bodily presence—a man in whom the apostolic zeal of ancient times has found expression in the New World, and who has had the care of all the churches in the regions beyond?"

"Ah," I cried, "I know who you mean," and not waiting to hear another word I sought, found, and presented Sheldon Jackson.

"True yoke-fellow and brother beloved," said Paul, "we are physically small—God made us short that we might accommodate ourselves to circumstances and magnify His grace. I rejoice that primitive zeal still flames in the Church, and that here and in foreign lands are thousands of standard-bearers of the cross who may not rest until the nations that sit in darkness have seen a great light—and the world is filled with the knowledge of God as the waters cover the sea; 'be thou faithful unto death and let no man take thy crown.'"

Moderator and brethren, here my vision ends, and I believe in my soul that if this assembly elects this missionary leader as its standard-bearer, that act will be as a trumpet call to missionary endeavour, and our whole beloved Church will mark time in a forward movement towards the conquest of this and all other lands for Christ.

It is related that when an iron brigade on a field of battle wavered and turned to retreat, there appeared before them an old revolutionary soldier with cocked hat, knee-breeches and flint-lock musket. The fires of '76 flashed in his eyes, and with a front of iron he faced the enemy. Then it was that some one cried, "The spirits of the heroes of Lexington, Trenton, and Bunker Hill are with us. About face—Double quick—Charge!" and that brigade swept the field as a hail-storm beats down a field of grain.

Oh! that the inspiration of prophets, apostles, and martyrs,

of heroic soldiers of the cross in all ages might come upon us, that a vision of the glorious Master Himself pointing to the home and foreign field might now arrest our retreating steps—turn us with united front towards the enemy, and lead us on to that final victory in which

“ Jesus shall reign where'er the sun
Doth his successive journeys run ;
His kingdom stretch from shore to shore,
Till moons shall wax and wane no more.”

The address of Dr. Hayes, of Oregon, was an able and eloquent plea in favour of Dr. Jackson from the home mission view-point. In his concluding words, he said :—

I would not say one word against the other candidates, I could not if I would. But among the very many able, faithful ministers of our beloved Church, there is one whose whole record of forty years of service stands for home missions. A man whose work is known from the Mississippi to our farthest northern boundaries ; a man whose name is a household word from where the orange blossoms waft their fragrance in sunny Southland, to where the icy crags point their glittering spires heavenward in far-off Alaska ; and from where the heaving billows of the Atlantic Ocean dash into ten thousand sparkling rain-drops on New England's rock-bound coast to where the shining sands of the Golden Gate are laved by the waters of the mighty Pacific.

Before the taking of the vote Dr. G. W. McMillan, President of Richmond College, Ohio, took the platform and spoke with much feeling on behalf of his old time friend and college mate, pleading earnestly, as did those who preceded him, for a recognition of the home mission work of the Church in that assembly. In his peroration Dr. McMillan said :—

Brethren, I verily believe that Dr. Sheldon Jackson is the greatest missionary the world has ever seen since the Apostle Paul went far hence unto the Gentiles and died upon the

scaffold. . . . If ever the General Assembly is to recognize the home missionary cause and to honour the missionaries, it is now. Their necessities are greater than they have ever been, and I pray God they may never be so great again. They offer you their greatest missionary and they can never offer you a greater.

At the conclusion of the roll-call by synods, the announcement was made that Sheldon Jackson having received three hundred and thirteen votes, a clear majority of seventy-five—was duly elected.

When he was brought into the auditorium by the committee sent to notify him of the assembly's action, all who were present—a congregation of about 2,000 persons—rose *en masse* and received him with a storm of applause.

The result of this election, while somewhat disappointing to the friends of Dr. Minton, was only a temporary waiver of their just claim on his behalf, and, not long afterwards another assembly honoured that claim, and gave him a like reception in the city of Philadelphia. The Hon. John Wanamaker, another of the proposed candidates, was appointed Vice-Moderator of the Winona Assembly by Moderator Jackson ; while a third, the Rev. Dr. Sample, was made the Moderator of the 111th Assembly, which met two years later at Minneapolis.

From every quarter of the land congratulations were sent to Dr. Jackson or his family following the announcement of his election. Many were from men on the frontier who saw in this action of the assembly the promise of a better day. One of these congratulatory messages was from Dr. Thomas H. Cleland, one of the trio who knelt with him, in the hill-top service of prayer at Sioux City, near the close of the sixties : another was from one of the three courageous men—the Rev. John L. Gage—who together held the ground on the line of the Union Pacific a few months later, until reinforcements came :

others, more highly prized even than messages from senators, ex-moderators, college and seminary professors, and secretaries of Church Boards,—were from appreciative friends and associates of other denominations or from natives of Alaska who had experienced the uplifting power of the Gospel, which had been brought to them through his instrumentality.

From Cambridge, Mass., under date of May 23d, Miss Frances E. Willard sent this cheering message :—

HONOURED AND DEAR BROTHER :—

I never wrote to a moderator to rejoice that he had attained that high position in the great Church of the presbyter, but you are one of my heroes. You have stood for all our Gospel means, not in a luxurious parish or splendid college, but out yonder on the edge of things where God's most friendless children turn towards you the eyes of pathos and hope. Most of all have those down-trodden women of Alaska been blessed by work that you have done or have inspired, and not a woman lives who has a brain to think who can fail to look upon you as one of the blessed reappearances of the primitive man of Christ, in an age that needs such men more than it needs gold or tariff. God bless you and nerve your brave arm for even stronger strokes of grace against the accursed liquor traffic and every other form of cruelty, is the prayer of

Your Christian Sister,
FRANCES E. WILLARD.

With an enthusiasm as hearty, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Fellow of Peabody Museum, Harvard University, writes to Mrs. Jackson :—

I have written "the honour shown" your husband, but I think the chair of moderator was never so honoured as when it was filled by Dr. Jackson. I count it one of the honours of my life that I have been permitted to know him so well, and to love him for his grandeur of Christian spirit. I am so glad that the Church has done the right thing in so recognizing his great work, and I trust that the prayer of his heart may be answered, and that there will be a great awakening of the missionary spirit, for, as General Harrison said in his speech when present-

ing the gavel, it is a revival of the spirit of the Master among His followers.

My love to you, dear Mrs. Jackson, for you too share in the doctor's labours and fame, and to your daughters.

Sincerely your friend,

ALICE C. FLETCHER.

At this date Alaska was blessed with a Christian governor, Hon. John G. Brady, who wrote :—

I have just read the news of your election as Moderator of the General Assembly, one of the noblest bodies of men on this earth. I am not only glad, but rejoice that you have been crowned with this honour towards the closing years of your wonderful life.

The gavel to which Miss Fletcher refers in the above quotation, was presented to the moderator on behalf of the Synod of Indiana, by ex-President Harrison. It was made up of oak, poplar, black walnut, beech and maple taken from the material and furnishings of pioneer churches and schools. Hence it was fitting, as the speaker intimated, that it should be presented to one whose life had been so much associated with pioneer churches. In one of these churches, the first Presbyterian church in Indiana, and likewise the first Protestant church, the father of General Harrison was the first person to receive the ordinance of Christian baptism.

At a later date Dr. Jackson was presented with a gold-headed cane made of wood from the pulpit of the Rehoboth church in Maryland. The following letter accompanied this gift :—

*Seventeenth Century to Nineteenth Century
Presbyterianism Greeting.*

REV. SHELDON JACKSON, D. D., L. L. D. :—

The Presbyterian Church of Rehoboth, Md., one of the group of churches organized near the close of the seventeenth century by Rev. Francis Makemie, a pioneer Presbyterian missionary of the seventeenth century, on the eastern coast of

America, sends greeting and a historical cane to Dr. Sheldon Jackson, a pioneer missionary of the nineteenth century on the western coast.

This cane is made of wood from Makemie's old pulpit in the church at Rehoboth, Md., cut in times before the Revolutionary War. The church in which it stood was organized in the days when King Charles II ruled over the land, and only thirty-five years after the Assembly at Westminster had sent forth our Confession of Faith and Catechisms.

Very truly yours,

EMERSON G. POLK,

*Ruling Elder of Presbyterian Church,
Rehoboth, Md. ; Commissioner of Presbytery
of New Castle to General Assembly of
1898.*

The General Assembly of 1897 was convened at a time when wise counsels and discreet actions were needed to meet emergencies which threatened the unity and crippled the energies of the Church, and happily for the cause and for the interests of all concerned it was characterized throughout its sessions by a spirit of harmony, consecration and missionary zeal which bore down all incipient distrust and revived the love and devotion of former days. The benign influence of Dr. Withrow's message at the opening of its session when he "swept the Gospel harp with a master hand and filled the souls of his hearers with the music of a divine charity" was a most timely and important factor in bringing about this result : the trumpet call of the several speakers in the nomination addresses to missionary activity was doubtless another, but the third was as certainly the spirit of the new moderator as evidenced by his first official act in calling upon Dr. Minton, his defeated opponent to unite with him in constituting the personnel of the working machinery of the assembly. This was an act of generosity unprecedented in the history of our ecclesiastical bodies. The angels, said the editor of the *New York Observer*, must

have been pleased as they hovered over the scene when Moderator Jackson and Dr. Minton laboured together to select the committees. We shall not wonder if alliteration has its way in the near future, and Moderator Minton holds the gavel.

Referring to the same thing the editor of *The Interior* said, "The significance of this is that if Dr. Minton had been elected his friends could not have been better satisfied in the constituting of the working machinery than they now are. There was immediate and perfect confidence and co-operation between the brethren who in the matter of personal preference appeared but an hour before to be upon opposing sides."

The assembly adjourned on the 21st of May, and by the 1st of June its moderator, having meanwhile made a hurried trip to Washington, was speeding across the continent by fastest trains, to make a connection with a vessel awaiting him at Seattle.

On the 12th of June, he embarked on the steamship *Portland* at Seattle for Unalaska and St. Michaels, at the mouth of the Yukon River. The last named port was reached on the morning of the 27th of June. The next day the Yukon River steamer *Portus B. Ware* arrived from Dawson with a half-million dollars worth of gold-dust from the Klondike and Yukon mining camps. It was the arrival of this steamer with its treasures at Seattle which made the Klondike region so famous and attracted to it thousands of gold-seekers from all parts of the world. On the trip up the river in this vessel, which left its wharf at St. Michaels on the morning of July 5th, Dr. Jackson was accompanied by Mr. W. A. Kjellman, superintendent of the reindeer station at Teller. One object of the journey was to learn from actual observation the extent of the supply of reindeer moss along the course of the Yukon valley with a view to the establishment of

reindeer routes from certain points on the upper reaches of the river to the mining camps in the interior. For this reason he desired to have the assistance of one who was an expert in such matters. This wonderful river, which has its sources among the high mountains of Canada sweeps northward to the Arctic Circle and thence by a series of graceful curves southwest to its outlet in Bering Sea. For three hundred miles above the head of the delta it is so wide that at some points upon one bank the other cannot be seen. At other locations higher up it widens out into a lake-like expanse eighty miles wide and it is navigable for light steamers for 2,000 miles. The fur traders were the first adventurers along the line of this great waterway and many of the older settlements were originally trading posts. The objective point of Dr. Jackson's long journey was Dawson, in Canada, 1,652 miles above St. Michaels. At the several stopping-places opportunity was afforded him to look after the interests of the schools and churches, and much valuable information was secured with respect to the location of missions in the newer sections towards which the rush of adventurers had already commenced. Dawson was reached on the morning of the 25th of July. On the evening of the next day, the steamer started on the return trip down the river. Soon after leaving Circle City, so called because of its nearness to the Arctic Circle, the vessel was stranded on a sand-bar, where it lay in helpless condition for nineteen days. At the end of this period of waiting and suspense, a steamer coming down the river was hailed, came alongside, and to it the passengers were transferred for the remainder of the journey.

Mrs. Alice Palmer Henderson, a fellow voyager on this Yukon tour, gives some interesting impressions of Dr. Jackson as a traveller :—¹

¹ "The Rainbow's End, Alaska," p. 220.

"I have travelled with him," she writes, "for weeks at a time, and I have never seen him idle for a moment. *He never hurries, but just persists.* Evidently he was always so. He is a bad sailor, and dislikes the constant travel, but I don't think anybody ever heard him volunteer the information. Whatever he has to do, he accomplishes without reference to liking or disliking. Yet he always finds time to be helpful to others. How many times when I was ingloriously seasick has he amused my tiny daughter, cutting out paper dolls with small folding scissors from his pocket—he carries everything, I never saw such a man—or drawing pictures, or submitting to 'bear hugs' with the utmost patience. Not a person aboard, I think, but received some little courtesy from him. Up the Yukon one of the ladies lost her comb and was in despair. The doctor said nothing but disappeared and returned with a comb. 'I always carry several,' he explained. Another time it was insect powder; another, absorbent cotton, and so on; there seemed to be nothing he had not, and always in sufficient quantities to spare, even patience. At every stop he obtained earth, flowers, shrubs, etc., for the Agricultural Department at Washington, and was running over with information."

At St. Michaels, Jackson took passage on the *Bear* and made the round of the schools and stations on the coast of Bering Sea. Returning to St. Michaels he was transferred with his belongings to the revenue cutter *Corwin*, bound for San Francisco. On the first day of November he arrived at Washington, thus completing in safety an interesting and wonderfully diversified journey of 21,735 miles.

In less than two months after this home-coming, Dr. Jackson was requested to go to Lapland as a "special agent" of the War Department, for the purpose of purchasing and shipping to the United States as many head of reindeer as in his judgment should be needed to transport supplies for the relief of a large number of miners in the upper reaches of the Yukon valley, who were reported to be short of provisions and in danger of starva-

tion. This meant a midwinter journey to a point nearly four degrees north of the Arctic Circle in Europe, but without hesitation he signified his readiness to go.

On the 18th of December, Congress voted a relief fund of \$200,000 of which \$40,000 was set apart for the purchase of reindeer, with all the necessary equipments for the comfort and efficiency of the relief expedition on the overland journey, by way of the Chilkoot pass, to its destination in the Yukon valley.

On the 20th of December, General Alger, the Secretary of War, notified Dr. Jackson of his appointment for this difficult and dangerous mission and requested him to get ready to go at the earliest possible moment. Lieutenant D. B. Devore, U. S. A., was detailed a day or two later to accompany him as disbursing officer and assistant. On the 23d of the month, he reported to the Secretary of War for duty in response to this emergency call and on the evening of the same day left his home for New York City. The day following was devoted mainly to conferences with trans-Atlantic steamship companies with a view to making arrangements for the transportation of the reindeer, when purchased, to the United States. On the evening of the same day he went aboard the steamship *Lucania* and at 6:30 on Christmas morning was on his way to the objective point of this long journey. Before the emergency had arisen which hurried Sheldon Jackson away from home and friends at the opening of the holiday season, Mr. Kjellman, superintendent of the reindeer herd in Alaska, had been dispatched to Lapland to procure a number of Lapp herdsmen and was engaged in the fulfilling of this mission when he received a notification by telegraph from his chief in New York of the changed conditions. This was followed by instructions to engage and send out all the assistants he could use to expedite the purchase of the reindeer and secure herdsmen to ac-

company them. Owing to this fortunate coincidence much valuable time was saved. At London, which was reached at ten P. M., December 31st, it was decided that Lieutenant Devore should remain until he could charter a steamer for the transportation of the deer and that Jackson should push on with all speed to some point in Norway where he could supply Mr. Kjellman with money to pay his agents. As the result of a conference with leading officials in London it was also decided that it would be best to secure a steamer not engaged directly in the cattle trade and transport its cargo of animals, attendants and equipments *direct* from Lapland to New York. One of the three days which Dr. Jackson spent in London was the Sabbath. On the morning of that day he attended a communion service in Dr. Munro Gibson's Church at St. John's Wood. By request of the pastor he assisted in this service and after the distribution of the elements was introduced to his people, to whom he gave a few words of greeting, as the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. For one in his position, the errand upon which he was going must have seemed to them a very unusual one, and certainly it was out of the line of precedent and custom in his own land as well as the lands where more conservative ideas of rank and dignity prevailed.

On the 3d of January, he resumed his journey, traveling as fast as boat and train could carry him through England, Holland, Denmark, and a portion of the long stretch of Norway to Trondhjem, one of the best markets in Norway for the purchase of reindeer moss. Here one day's stop was made to complete arrangements which Mr. Kjellman had inaugurated for the purchase of several hundred tons of this moss and its shipment on the steamer which Lieutenant Devore had chartered and ordered to this port on its upward voyage. Upon the arrival

of the train and mail from Christiana at midnight, the journey was resumed by vessel to Hammerfest, the northernmost city on the globe. Here a transfer was made to a smaller vessel which steamed up the Alten Fjord at the head of which lies the village of Bosekop, the terminus of the long journey. In this latitude the sun is not visible from November 20th to January 21st. The date of Dr. Jackson's arrival was January 13th and hence it was not only Arctic night for several days of the journey, but also through most of the days which he spent at Bosekop. On the 16th of January Mr. Kjellman arrived from the interior, having been delayed two days on the mountains, where he had been lost in a blizzard. For nearly two nights previous and the intervening day he had been riding without sleep or rest. He reported the welcome news that 500 trained reindeer with sleds, harness, and fifty Lapp drivers, had been secured and would soon be on their way to Bosekop for shipment.

To secure this outfit, Mr. Kjellman had found it necessary to send out seven agents far into the interior, in the darkest and most inclement season of the year, and the aggregate distance travelled by them in reindeer sledges on this errand was 3,000 miles. When the mission of the several agents was ended it was found that the expedition was made up of 538 reindeer, 418 sleds, 511 sets of harness, and sixty-eight Lapp drivers, with their wives and children (113 in all). The return voyage with some of the events immediately preceding it has been most graphically described by Dr. Field of the *Evangelist* :—¹

“Such,” he writes, referring to the above list, “was the unique shipment that was to be brought to the port where the ship had arrived from Glasgow, and was waiting only for the Lapps and the deer to embark on their voyage across the sea !

¹Editorial column of *Evangelist*, March 10, 1898.

“At this last moment the Lord put our good doctor to a final test of faith—for there came the most tremendous blizzard he had ever seen! The air was filled with the blinding snow, and the winds howled around the little house where he sat and shivered, for nothing could withstand that wintry blast. Of course it was hopeless to look for the Lapps, who would have to cross high mountains, that were swept by winds, which seemed to come from the very North Pole itself! Dr. Jackson is never utterly downcast, but as he heard the storm gusts around him he did really wish that this blizzard would blow itself out, and in this mood he rose and walked to the window, where he scratched away the frost so as to peer out, when he saw something that seemed to be alive, and behold the Lapps themselves—every man of them, with their wives and children—had come over the tops of the mountains, while the drivers were in high glee at their performance! And not only were the hardy men there, but the women, too, and not the smallest chicken of a baby suffered from this wild baptism of sleet and snow!

“Then to transfer the whole company of men, women and children, with a herd of 538 reindeer, was no light task. But in due time it was done, and all sailed away from the shores of dear old Lapland!

“Now their troubles were over! Not quite! for they were still in high latitudes, as their course took them within a hundred miles of Iceland, and when they got thus far, it seemed as if all the wild forces of the frozen north came out against them. ‘Never, never,’ says Dr. Jackson, ‘in all my voyages on the Pacific Ocean, did I see anything like it. How the tempest howled and the winds blew! Day or night there was little sleep. Only cat naps, snatched in the lull of the storm.’

“‘Oh, yes!’ I said, as I heard the story, ‘I have been there: I have crossed all the oceans, and know what a storm at sea is. But there is always this satisfaction that the fiercer the tempest, the shorter it is, for it blows itself out! So, of course your storm off Iceland didn’t last long?’ ‘Oh, no,’ said the quiet doctor, ‘only nine days!’ I dropped the subject.

“After all these storms on the land and the sea, the Lord *did* at last bring them to their desired haven, and the good ship entered the harbour of New York, with the loss of but one deer, and that not from the sea, but from fighting! for two deer that were in one pen on the deck had a little ‘difference,’ and butted with heads and horns (what remained of them, for they

were sawed off); one poor deer received his quietus, and was 'rocked in the cradle of the deep,' and sank in the waves. But all the rest were landed safely on the wharf in Jersey City, and put on board of a train specially provided for them."

During the continuance of this tempestuous voyage, which lasted twenty-three days, Dr. Jackson was necessarily exposed to many hardships and unpleasant experiences. No mention of these is made in his official report, but in his diary of events some facts are briefly mentioned which suggest more than they appear to set forth. During the worst of the storms the old ship behaved beautifully, he says, but it was wet, dirty and uncomfortable. While he and his assistant had the privileges of cabin passengers, all of the available spaces on deck, as well as above and below them, were utilized for deer pens, the odour from which at times was very offensive. On the hurricane deck, directly above, there were 130 deer which were drenched day after day and night after night, while the storms lasted, with the breaking waves. Between the lurches of the vessel much of the waste water, so continuously dashed upon the occupants of this deck, percolated through the floor, and dripped from the ceiling of the stateroom. There were times when the water, swashed back and forth on the floor of the room, making it necessary to put in a temporary floor above the water, while to this was added the discomfort and peril of a damp mattress for an entire week. This dampness was caused by the condensation of the breath on the cold walls of the room, and for this there was no remedy. Through a series of physical discomforts and humiliating experiences such as these the Moderator of the 109th General Assembly returned from his first visit to Europe. The most that he had seen of it was in glimpses from the windows of swiftly-moving trains or the decks of ice-coated steamers. Before him day and night on this per-

ilous journey in every moment of consciousness there was one dominant thought—How to reach at the earliest possible moment the imperilled men in the Yukon valley with the necessities of life by means of the herd of trained deer which he was commissioned to bring from far-away Lapland. With this *one* thing before him he endured hardness, risked exposures and cheerfully gave up his own preferences and prerogatives. The celerity with which he accomplished this mission, in view of all the difficulties, was little short of marvellous.

Starting out on this errand in response to an emergency call he sailed away from the harbour of New York, in the gray dawning of Christmas morning, with but a vague idea of the means to be used or the agencies to be employed. Some two months later he was back from the farthest north of human habitation in Europe, at the entrance of the same port, in a chartered vessel, with broken prow, battered sides, and crushed life-boats, in which were the full complement of the reindeer he was commissioned to bring; moss in abundance for their sustenance until the pastures of Alaska should be reached; a full outfit of sledges and harness and a brave little colony of Laplanders, Norwegians and Finns, who were hurriedly summoned from home and native land to join forces with this impromptu expedition. The next day after the arrival of the vessel off Sandy Hook the deer were unloaded and the day following they were on their way to the seaport of Seattle, on the Pacific coast, under the charge of an officer of the army. Here Dr. Jackson's connection with and responsibility for the expedition, as special agent of the War Department, ceased, and he returned to his home and regular work in Washington.

It was included in the plan of relief, as originally outlined, that the reindeer purchased in Lapland should be sent without delay across the country to Circle City, or

some other point in the Yukon valley, but before they had reached the coast of Alaska information had been received that the miners had a sufficient store of supplies to tide them over until the opening of the spring season, and hence the rescue feature of the expedition was abandoned. It was deemed best, however, to take the deer directly to the Yukon valley for freighting purposes, and with this in view, arrangements were already being made to transfer the herd to the Department of the Interior. On the 10th of March, nine days after he had reached his home, Dr. Jackson was directed by the Commissioner of Education, under instructions from the Secretary of the Interior, to go at once to the Pacific coast and resume charge of the Lapps and the reindeer, it having been arranged that they would be turned over to him on his arrival by the officer of the army in charge. Leaving Washington on the 11th, he overtook the herd at Seattle on the 16th of March. The deer were then being loaded on a steamer which should have been at the wharf on their arrival by train eight or nine days before. Owing to this delay and a still more serious delay at the Haines Mission, Alaska, where the deer were landed on the 27th of March, the supply of moss was exhausted several days before the overland expedition could move. The substitution of alfalfa and grass for their ordinary winter forage weakened them and unfitted a large number for travel. When the attempt was made, at length, to reach the moss pasturage at the head of the Chilkat valley, about sixty miles distant, many lagged behind for lack of strength, and day by day the death roll from weakness or starvation grew to alarming proportions. If the arrangements for transfer at Seattle, and the necessary provisions for the herders at Haines had been made in advance by those to whom these details had been committed long before, the herd could have been driven without any great loss to

Circle City or any other point in the Yukon valley. As it turned out nothing could be done but make the best of the situation and carry forward by slow marches as many as possible, until permanent pasturage could be reached on the north summit of the Chilkat Pass.

At Skagway, near the entrance to the pass, Dr. Jackson left the herd in charge of an assistant and took passage in a steamer bound for Seattle. Thence he returned to the East, arriving at his home in Washington, on the 23d of April. The total loss to the herd from starvation before the moss pastures were reached was 362. Afterwards in the early stages of the long journey to Circle City, a number died that were unable to recover their lost vigour, and at the end there were only 141 remaining out of the herd of 528 which were landed at the Haines Mission. These survivors were in excellent condition, however, at the date of their arrival, and at a later date were exchanged for an equal number of Siberian reindeer belonging to the Episcopal mission on the Yukon, which were then at the Eaton Reindeer Station.

The disastrous ending of this expedition which promised so well at the outset, was not chargeable in any way to the Bureau of Education or its general agent in charge of the work in Alaska. And yet it has often been quoted as an illustration of the folly or useless extravagance of those who were responsible for the introduction of the reindeer industry among the Eskimos of that country. Referring to some public statements based on this false assumption, the Hon. John G. Brady, the governor of the territory at the date of these occurrences, says in his annual report for 1899 :—

The purchase of several hundred reindeer in Norway and Lapland and their shipment across the Atlantic and the continent, and by steamship again from Seattle to Haines Mission, and the dying of a large percentage of them at that point, and

all the subsequent evils, had *nothing whatever to do* with the problem of the introduction of domestic reindeer into Western and Northern Alaska for the use of the Esquimos. When editors and writers raise the cry of "failure" and "fad" they simply show that they are not acquainted with the facts, or, if they are, that they are prejudiced and are not willing to stick to the truth.

Equally false and misleading were the statements, made and circulated through the public press, that Dr. Jackson was responsible for the reports that American miners were in imminent danger of starvation while as a matter of fact, as one writer puts it, "the Yukoners had enough to eat and indigestion besides."¹ Aside from the well-known facts that these reports came to the government from various sources, it goes without saying that the action taken by President McKinley's Cabinet in organizing a relief expedition and by the Congress in voting a fund of \$200,000, must have been based upon something more than a rumour for which one man, and he a missionary, was responsible. There is evidence also in the records of the War Department that in the fall of 1897 starvation was imminent at Dawson and was felt to be so by the residents there. This danger was so great that a thousand men sold out their supplies and came out of the country over one of the passes before the winter came on. It is also a matter of record that seven hundred persons went down the river to Fort Yukon where they were fed during the winter and spring from government supplies by the commander, Captain Ray. Furthermore, it appears from official reports that at least two hundred of the residents died of scurvy or other diseases caused by the scarcity of wholesome and nourishing food supplies.

About the time of his return to Washington, Sheldon

¹Article in January number of *Appleton's Magazine*, 1906, by Rex E. Beach,

Jackson received another appointment from the Secretary of War authorizing him to act as the special agent of the War Department in paying the salaries and looking after the interests of the Laplanders whom he had secured for service in that department under contract until January 31, 1899. With the consent of the Secretary of the Interior he undertook this work in connection with his annual tour of inspection in Alaska. On the 17th of May he left Washington City on this errand, arranging for a stop at Winona Lake in order that he might fulfill the obligations which rested upon him as the retiring Moderator of the General Assembly. On the 19th of May he preached the opening sermon and presided until his successor was chosen.

The sermon was based upon the emphatic word of command given through Moses to the people of Israel after the crossing of the brook Zered,—“Begin to possess that thou mayest inherit the land” (Deut. 2:31). The central thought of this stirring sermon, which well accorded with the ruling passion of his own ministerial life, was the taking and holding of the magnificent domain—“stretching from ocean to ocean and from tropical gulf to frozen North,” which God has given to His people by promise and providential orderings,—as an *actual possession and a base of operation for the conversion of the world.*

Sheldon Jackson's year of service as Moderator of the General Assembly was probably the busiest of all the busy years of his eventful life. His midsummer tour, upon which he started at the close of the Assembly of 1897, included the Klondike, in the upper reaches of the Yukon valley, the usual round of stations on the coast of Bering Sea, and at one or two points touched the Arctic Circle on the north.

His midwinter tour, undertaken less than two months later, carried him into the darkness of the Arctic night,

and up to the farthest limits of civilized life on the continent of Europe. On the one, in addition to his duties as the superintendent of schools, reindeer stations and missions, he found time to gather valuable information and material for the use of the Department of Agriculture, acting under appointment as its special agent: on the other he served the War Department as its special agent, also, in an enterprise involving more unusual labours and perplexing experiences than any other undertaking, within the same period of time, in his life. During the same eventful year, he made his second tour to Alaska, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, returning from Skagway, its farthest limit, about three weeks before the opening of the General Assembly of 1898.

The aggregate of the distances travelled on these journeys was 37,624 miles.

How this ubiquitous itinerant managed to keep abreast of the correspondence growing out of all these varied relations and activities, which met him at several previously designated points *en route*, is a mystery which the writer does not pretend to solve. Many things are possible, however, to the man who "never hurries, but just persists."

While he held the office of moderator, Dr. Jackson received the honourary degree of LL. D., from Richmond College, Indiana, and Union College, New York, his *alma mater*.

As for banquets and junketing parties, the usual accompaniments of the office, all but one or two had to be ruled out, because of the difficulty of locating or reaching the man in whose honour they were to be held.

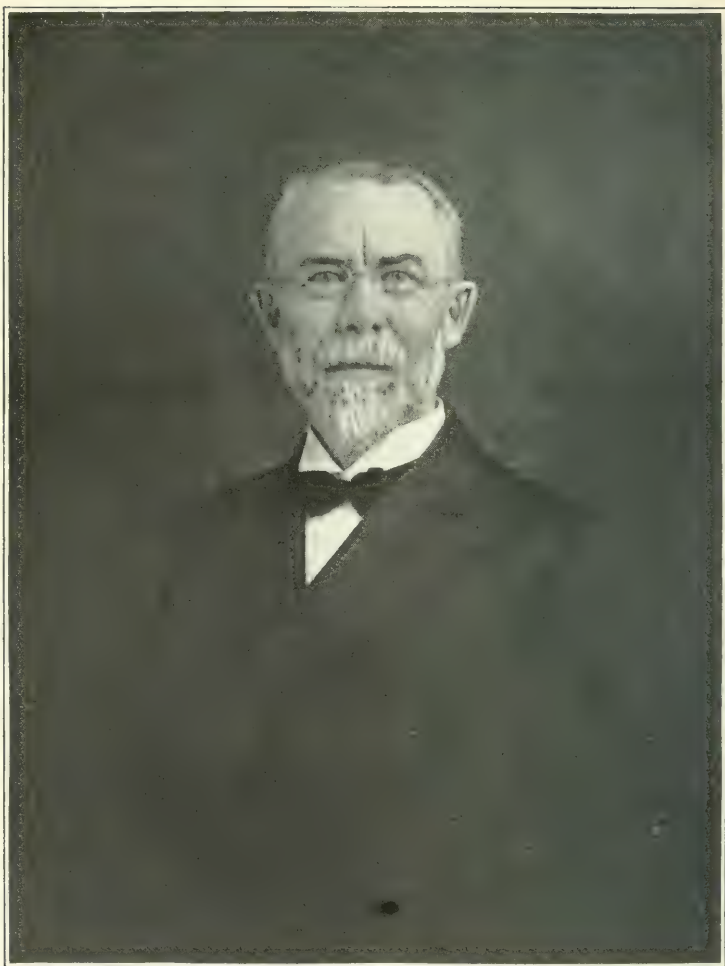
XX

EDUCATIONAL AND MISSIONARY WORK (1898-1908)

"Our brave missionaries are making history for us. They are the pioneers of civilization, and if what they have done be not recognized now, it will be hereafter. When we are all dead and gone, and our Western Archipelago is no longer a wilderness; when church spires rise out of the primeval forest, and the sound of the church-going bell is heard over these woods and waters; then will the historians of that day seek among the graves of the fathers to whom Alaska owes its schools and churches, and no name will be held in more grateful remembrance than that of Sheldon Jackson."—*Rev. Henry M. Field, D. D., "Our Western Archipelago," p. 149.*

AFTER the adjournment of the General Assembly, Dr. Jackson continued his journey across the continent to Seattle. At this point he arranged for the transportation of a number of Lapps who had been left at Fort Townsend, to the reindeer headquarters near Unalakleet. On their arrival at this station they were assigned to duty with the herds at such places as the deer were likely to be used to carry the mails or to transport goods to points not easily reached by the ordinary modes of transportation.

When the term of enlistment of these men had expired some reënlisted for service with the herds, some returned to their native land, but the larger number remained in the country and sought employment in the mining camps of Nome and vicinity or staked out claims and went to work on their own account. It has been stated on reliable authority that at least two-thirds of the number thus engaged made fortunes in the Cape Nome fields.



SHELDON JACKSON
Golden Wedding, May 18, 1908



MARY VOORHEES JACKSON
Golden Wedding, May 18, 1908

When he had completed the task assigned him by the War Department, in connection with these wards of the government, Dr. Jackson gave the remainder of the season to the work of his own department. After visiting some of the stations on the Bering Sea coast he made a trip to Siberia for the purpose of securing enough reindeer to replace those which had been borrowed from the station at Cape Prince of Wales by the rescue party, sent to the imprisoned whalers, at Point Barrow. While not so successful as he had hoped to be, he managed to secure 161 for that purpose. When the deer were safely landed at Port Clarence the vessel sailed for St. Michaels by way of Unalakleet. Here, on the 21st of August, connections were made with a steamer for Seattle. Thence the journey was continued by rail to Washington.

In the summer of 1899, Dr. Jackson made a detour westward to the peninsula of Kamchatka in connection with his annual visit to Bering Sea. The route taken by the *Bear* on this voyage was almost directly west from Unalaska and for much of the way skirted the northern coasts of the Aleutian Islands. The first landing place in this portion of the Russian possessions was Petropavlovsk (Peter and Paul), the capital of Kamchatka. The object of the detour was to secure a larger number of reindeer, if possible, than the government agents had been able to purchase in Siberia. From Petropavlovsk the vessel sailed northward, stopping wherever there was any prospect of securing deer, to Karaginski Island at the upper end of the peninsula. Thence the vessel was headed in a northeasterly direction along the Siberian coast to Gambell on the Island of St. Lawrence. The voyage to Kamchatka was a disappointment, so far as its main object was concerned, but after several ineffectual attempts eighty-three deer were secured and safely landed at Port Clarence. The farthest point north which

was reached by the *Bear* on the cruise of inspection which followed this venture, was Cape Blossom in Kotzebue Sound, a few miles beyond the crossing of the Arctic Circle. The return journey was made by way of Southeastern Alaska. On the way to Petropavlovsk a day was dropped out of the ship's calendar on the 13th of June, at the crossing of the 180th degree of west longitude, and was regained on the 11th of July, in the vicinity of Cape Navarin. The tour as a whole covered a distance of 18,859 miles.

While absent upon this long cruise a cowardly attack was made upon Dr. Jackson by a little coterie of vindictive enemies at Juneau, Alaska. The immediate occasion of this outbreak was a sensational report of the United States Grand Jury on the conduct of educational matters in Alaska. The prime mover in the vindictive and overwrought accusation brought against the General Agent of Education at this time, which differed but little in spirit from the conspiracy of 1885, was a former official of the territory, who had long sought an opportunity to combine the element which decried all attempts to elevate the natives against him, with a view to securing his removal from office.

Referring to the newspaper comments based upon the alleged finding of the grand jury the editor of the *Chicago Interior* said :—

We note that certain parties in Alaska have taken advantage of Dr. Jackson's absence upon the high seas to attack him and his work with bitterest malevolence and falsehood. They parade figures which catch the eye, concealing facts which would show the utter absurdity of their charges. They have secured the publication of this libelous report throughout the length and breadth of the republic by securing its distribution as press news. We have long known the character of the men who have opposed Dr. Jackson, and we know how some of them have disgraced their official positions. But it need only

be said that thirty odd years spent on the frontier have abundantly qualified him for taking care of himself. Upon his return from the present expedition, whither he has been sent by the government which knows and trusts him, he will give particular attention to his enemies should he deem the game worth the candle. Meanwhile we caution all our readers how they accept these libels, sent out through press agencies for purposes best known at home; and all that we need say for Dr. Jackson personally is that he has by a long life of purity, courage and generosity made a thousand enemies among the vicious, and ten thousand times ten thousand friends among those who can appreciate honour, courage and self-sacrifice.

When the time came for the investigation of the statements, so recklessly promulgated, they were found to be unsupported by reliable evidence and were not deemed worthy of serious consideration. In the absence of any official statement the Commissioner of Education regarded the alleged report of the grand jury as "a hoax." This he was justified in doing because it did not deal with specific charges or with a statement of specific facts after the prescribed form for such reports. Referring to one item of this alleged report, the importation of reindeer for the benefit of the Eskimo, he says, in an open letter to the editor of the *Post Intelligencer* of Seattle :—

Aside from the evident lack of knowledge as to the condition of government schools in Southeast Alaska and to the policy of the government, I do not believe that a grand jury could be found in any state, territory or district, which would go out of its way to criticise an experiment which it could not by any possibility have any personal knowledge of in the way of inspection or otherwise. The reindeer experiment which is provided for from year to year by the general government is carried on at a distance of from 2,100 to 2,700 miles by sea from Sitka, and the experiment, instead of being a failure, as stated in the alleged grand jury report, is a success in all the main particulars.

In reply to the insinuation in this report that the General Agent of Education for Alaska had misappropriated government funds, ex-Governor Sheakley, who for about ten years preceding had been a member of the School Board for Alaska, by appointment of the Secretary of the Interior, asserted publicly and without fear of contradiction, that Dr. Jackson had never handled any of this money, and for the simple reason that it was always paid out by voucher directly from the office of the department.

Some of the most vigorous protests against these unjust and unfair criticisms were made by the officers of the revenue cutters in which Dr. Jackson was carried from point to point in the prosecution of his work.

In reply to one of these letters of protest written by Captain W. F. Kilgore, United States Steamer *Perry*, Dr. Harris, the Commissioner of Education, says :—

I write to thank you for your letter of October 20th, Sitka, relating to the attacks made upon Rev. Sheldon Jackson. Your letter is the best document I have received. The attacks upon Dr. Jackson are so constant and so venomous that I am very glad to get a letter from an officer in a different department of the United States service, and from one like yourself whose words have weight and convincing effect. For ten years or more I have heard complaints of all kinds against Dr. Jackson but I have never in any case found that the charges would bear investigating, and I could adopt no words better than your own to describe my impressions of the man, after working with him as a co-labourer for many years, namely, that he is a man of the highest integrity, and honest in his dealings with his fellow men.

While these foolish and baseless charges were thus set aside, and utterly failed of their avowed purpose, they did nevertheless influence many persons who were ignorant of the facts, and who perhaps never saw anything from official or other reliable sources, in reply.

On the 23d of April, 1900, Jackson left his home for another long cruise in Bering Sea and along the coast of Siberia. The outward journey was made by way of South-eastern Alaska to Sitka and thence along the North Pacific coast to Unalaska. After he had made his usual tour of inspection among the several missions and schools of instruction, the vessel was headed for the Siberian coast for the purpose of securing some additional reindeer for the government herd. On this errand, the ship forced its way through ice-packs and dense fogs as far northward as Kolyachin Bay, Arctic Siberia. Owing to the prevalence of a fatal epidemic which in some places had swept off from one-fourth to one-half of the inhabitants, the usual market places were abandoned and those who remained in the coast towns were too much discouraged to aid in securing deer from the herds in the interior. As a result, only twenty-nine reindeer could be secured at this time.

This tour occupied nearly five months in time and covered a stretch of 16,587 miles. It was Sheldon Jackson's last cruise to the Arctic Ocean. In the summer of 1901, and again in the summer of 1902, he inspected the school and reindeer stations on the northern shore of Bering Sea, delegating to Mr. Hamilton, his assistant, the work in Arctic Alaska. This limitation of his field of active labour was made necessary by the development of a serious and painful internal disorder,—aggravated by many years of hardship and exposures—which in its incipient stages dated back to the year 1886. There were but few of Dr. Jackson's most intimate friends who knew that his health was so seriously impaired; and, in the midst of his abundant labours, he gave no sign of this constant and at times excruciating suffering. While continuing instant in season and out of season, doing the full measure of each day's work as it came before him, there never passed a day, perhaps, since the date men-

tioned, in which he could say that he was free from suffering.

In the spring of 1903, the disease assumed a more acute form and his condition was such that his physician interposed when he began to arrange for another summer tour and warned him not to make the attempt. Recognizing the wisdom of this kindly warning, he remained at home. Since that date he has given up the field work into the hands of Dr. Hamilton : and, while keeping his hand over it in all its phases and developments, has given his time, despite his illness and infirmity, to the office and its daily demands in Washington City.

During this period of enforced retirement and acute suffering, a new phase of the opposition which had so persistently assailed him in the past, an echo of the former attack appeared under sensational head-lines, first in the columns of the *New York Herald*, in the summer of 1906, and afterwards in most of the leading papers of the country.

In substance, it professed to be the report of the unearthing of a scandal connected with the management of the schools and reindeer stations of Alaska, by Mr. Frank G. Churchill, who had been sent out to that country on a special mission of inspection and investigation under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, in the summer of 1905. The object and animus of the public attack of the *Herald* under this guise may be inferred from the fact that the writer of the article in question had access to the full and conclusive reply made to the allegations of Mr. Churchill by Dr. Harris, the Commissioner of Education, which was bound up with them in the same public document, by express order of the United States Senate. Ignoring this, he framed his sensational charges upon a report which had been already discredited in several of its details by those best qualified

to judge of its value. In answer to the charge that the government had been wronged in the distribution of the reindeer herds and in the contracts made with mission stations, it was shown conclusively that the purpose of the department was to distribute the deer among the natives as rapidly as possible, consistent with their ability to care for them, and not to accumulate herds for its own use or profit. In accordance with this policy it was shown that in 1905 the natives had earned and were actually caring for thirty-eight per cent. of all the deer in Alaska, while the government still retained thirty per cent., the remainder being distributed in the industrial schools at the mission stations, or among the Lapp herders as a compensation for their services.

In reply to the charge that the deer had been expensively and inefficiently handled at the mission stations, the Commissioner of Education promptly furnished the proof from statistics in his office, that the cost of maintaining the herds at the mission stations had been much less than at the government stations, and also that the results had been more satisfactory. It is a significant fact in this connection that after Congress had received and considered the report of Mr. Churchill, recommending that the reindeer herds in Alaska be taken away from the mission stations, action was taken, in direct opposition to this recommendation,—“directing that all reindeer owned by the United States in Alaska shall, as soon as practicable, be turned over to the missions in Alaska, to be held and used by them under such conditions as the Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe.”¹

The insinuation that the Presbyterian missions had been specially favoured in the apportionment of reindeer, was also promptly met with the official statement of the Board, through its president and secretary—“that the

¹ Senate Document, 59th Congress, No. 483.

Presbyterian Church had never owned a deer or claimed to own a deer in Alaska." At the close of this statement, which deals with the charge made against it only, these officials say :—" Dr. Jackson needs no defense before the Presbyterian Church or any other denomination at work in Alaska. The entire Christian public so regard his disinterested patriotism, his far-seeing statesmanship, and his splendid service in the cause of missions for half a century, that the criticisms of the special agent will only recoil."

At the annual meeting of the Synod of Washington, which includes the Presbytery of Alaska within its bounds, action was taken, October 5, 1906, expressive of the "righteous indignation and disapproval of the unwarranted and unjust and untrue charges and criticisms made by Mr. Frank Churchill, concerning the work and character of Dr. Sheldon Jackson and our Presbyterian mission in Alaska." Inasmuch as these charges had been fully met and refuted by the Board of Home Missions and the Commissioner of Education, no further action was taken, except to endorse the Board of Home Missions in continuing the relation that had hitherto existed between it and Dr. Sheldon Jackson and to advise its continuance."¹

Thus by the parties immediately concerned every charge of mismanagement, favouritism or misuse of public funds, made in Mr. Churchill's report, was met and refuted.

In the report itself, which was carefully prepared and contained much valuable information, the evidence of prejudice, hasty generalization and personal enmity were so apparent that no action was taken upon it by Congress, except to order its publication, together with the reply

¹ For refutation of the charge that Dr. Jackson received a double salary, see Chapter XVI, p. 362.

made to its charges and adverse criticisms by Dr. Harris, the Commissioner of Education.

In the hope of obtaining relief from acute and almost continuous periods of suffering, Dr. Jackson submitted to a surgical operation in the spring of 1907. This operation was performed in the Hahnemann hospital, Philadelphia. Out of this valley of the shadow of death he came safely, but owing to the lack of recuperative power in his system, it became necessary to undergo another operation in Washington, a few months later. As a result of these trying experiences, his sufferings have been greatly relieved, but at the expense of his physical strength and vigour.

In his home life, although often severed from its enjoyments and amenities, Dr. Jackson has been greatly blessed. Two daughters of this little household were taken to the better country in early childhood, and two yet remain, whose presence and companionship are the more precious because of this separation and bereavement.

One of them, Delia Sheldon Jackson, is a member of the Washington bar ; the other, Elizabeth Leslie Jackson, is an artist of exceptional ability who has painted many choice specimens of the flora of Alaska, as well as a large number of highly prized water-colour studies in this and other lands.

It is a notable fact that four of the most important events in the life of Sheldon Jackson took place, by providential ordering, in the month of May, namely :—

His birth, licensure to preach the Gospel, ordination, and marriage. The day of his birth, May 18th, coming in the midst of the beauty and freshness of the vernal season, happily synchronizes with his wedding day. In the present year of grace,—1908—Dr. and Mrs. Jackson had the rare privilege of celebrating the fiftieth anniver-

sary of their wedded life. The "Home" celebration of this golden jubilee was attended by a goodly number of invited guests, while from many warm friends, both far and near, hearty congratulations and good wishes were sent.

While keenly alert as ever to the interests of the great missionary and educational work which he has been permitted to build from the foundation upwards for God and humanity in Alaska, Dr. Jackson has decided to give the care and responsibilities of the important office which he has filled for so many years into other hands, and has tendered his resignation to the Commissioner of Education, to take effect at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, 1908.

The work which he took up when no one else seemed to be willing to take it has now become an honoured service and an object of desire. To this work in its two-fold manifestations—the crowning work of his busy life—he has given thirty-one years of almost continuous labours: and there are few, if any, influences for good in that far-away land that do not owe their initiative or development to him. He has appealed to and worked in harmony with the Moravian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Friend, Methodist, Congregational, Episcopal, Swedish, Orthodox Russian, and Roman Catholic churches in the establishing of schools and missions and reindeer stations: and, in the dark hours of his affliction, some of the most touching expressions of sympathy and concern received by himself, or his family, have been from friends and fellow labourers in other denominations.¹ In every habitable portion of this widely-extended and strangely-

¹ In the Prayer Calendar of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends, Dr. Jackson was made the subject of special prayer for May, 1907, "in view of his great work in spreading the knowledge of the evangel in Alaska."



PRESBYTERIAN MISSION AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING SCHOOL, SITKA.

Boys' Building. Girls' Building. Museum. Church. Industrial Buildings. Manse. Cottages. Hospital.
Mt. of the Cross.

diversified land may be seen to-day the monuments of his tireless energy and unselfish devotion.

In Southeastern Alaska, the field of his first labours, the Presbyterian Church now has four churches for the white population and twelve churches with 982 communicants, and twenty-five preaching stations among the native population. It maintains through the agency of the Woman's Board, a well-equipped industrial school and a hospital at Sitka, supports on this field thirty missionaries and teachers, and influences for good through all these agencies some 5,000 natives.

Of this section it was literally true, when written, if not of the whole land, by one of Dr. Jackson's associates and faithful fellow labourers :—

"There has not been, I believe, from the first, a mission started, a school opened, or a teacher sent, that has not been due to the consecrated energy of this true apostle of Alaska, whose wise counsels, loving sympathy, and substantial help continues to bless them all."

"What the missionaries have achieved," says Amory H. Bradford, "fills the brightest page in the history of Alaska. Others have gone there for selfish purposes; they have sought wealth, and have had as little care for the natives as for the rocks or the rivers. The schools are nearly, if not quite, missionary schools; the hospitals are missionary hospitals. Two names are conspicuous in the story of missions in Alaska; namely, Sheldon Jackson and William Duncan. Unless I am greatly mistaken, they will be remembered longer in that land than the names of any other men who have ever lived there. The schools, church, museum, hospital at Sitka, will long keep green the memory of Jackson, on whom the General As-

¹ Mrs. Eugene S. Willard, author of "*Kin-da-Shon's Wife and Life in Alaska.*"

sembly conferred no added honour when it made him its moderator.”¹

While Sheldon Jackson has fairly earned a “rest under the trees” on *this* side of the river, it is not at all likely that he will avail himself of that privilege so long as there is work to be done or strength remaining to do it.

As for the writer he will be content with telling the story of his busy life within the bounds of the half-century already rounded out, preferring to lay his wreath of appreciation at his feet now, rather than on his tomb, if that were permitted him, hereafter.

¹“A Visit to Alaska,” *Outlook*, September 17, 1898, pp. 184-185.

XXI

SUMMARY OF LABOURS AND RESULTS (1858-1908)

“To think : to act : to work : to wait :
Faith strong, heart true, whate'er one's fate
Content, come guerdon soon, or late :
Such life's worth living.”

THE details of the preceding chapters, dating from the spring of 1858, cover a fully rounded half-century of widely-extended labours and phenomenal activities.

From the malarious regions of the Indian Territory where for a short time he laboured as a foreign missionary among the Choctaws, Sheldon Jackson found his way to a healthier field on the frontiers of Minnesota and Wisconsin. Thence after a decade of faithful service, the memory of which is still an inspiration to those who have succeeded him in that region, he passes to the frontier line of Iowa and the rapidly growing settlements of Nebraska. Thence for a dozen years or more he “marshals the advance guard of the Church along the slopes of the Rocky Mountains” from the north border of Montana to the north borders of Mexico. Still later, as one has put it, “we find him the apostle of Alaska, sailing away into wintry seas to brave the forces of lawlessness in their farthest stronghold, and to save a simple race from extinction.”

In extent his field of labour has ranged over the broad areas of nine states and four territories, as now consti-

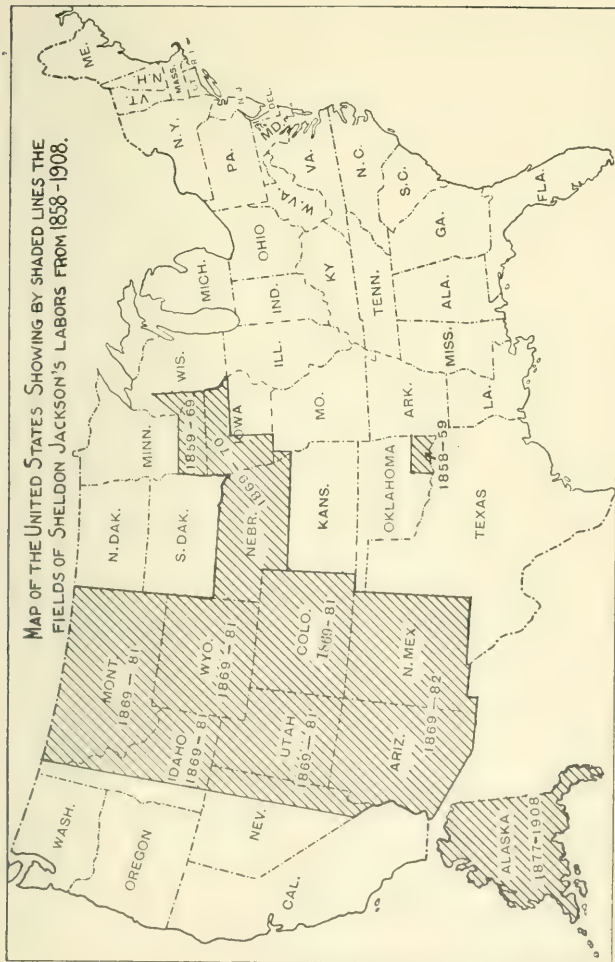
tuted, but when he crossed the Mississippi River for the first time, California was the only state west of the Missouri River. Over this vast stretch of country, then known as "The New West,"—the larger half of our national domain,—he journeyed from point to point day by day and oftentimes night by night with marvellous patience and persistency, following the farthest of the immigrant trails, to new settlements and mining camps, preaching the gospel of peace where godlessness and anarchy reigned and establishing missions at every important centre and strategic point.

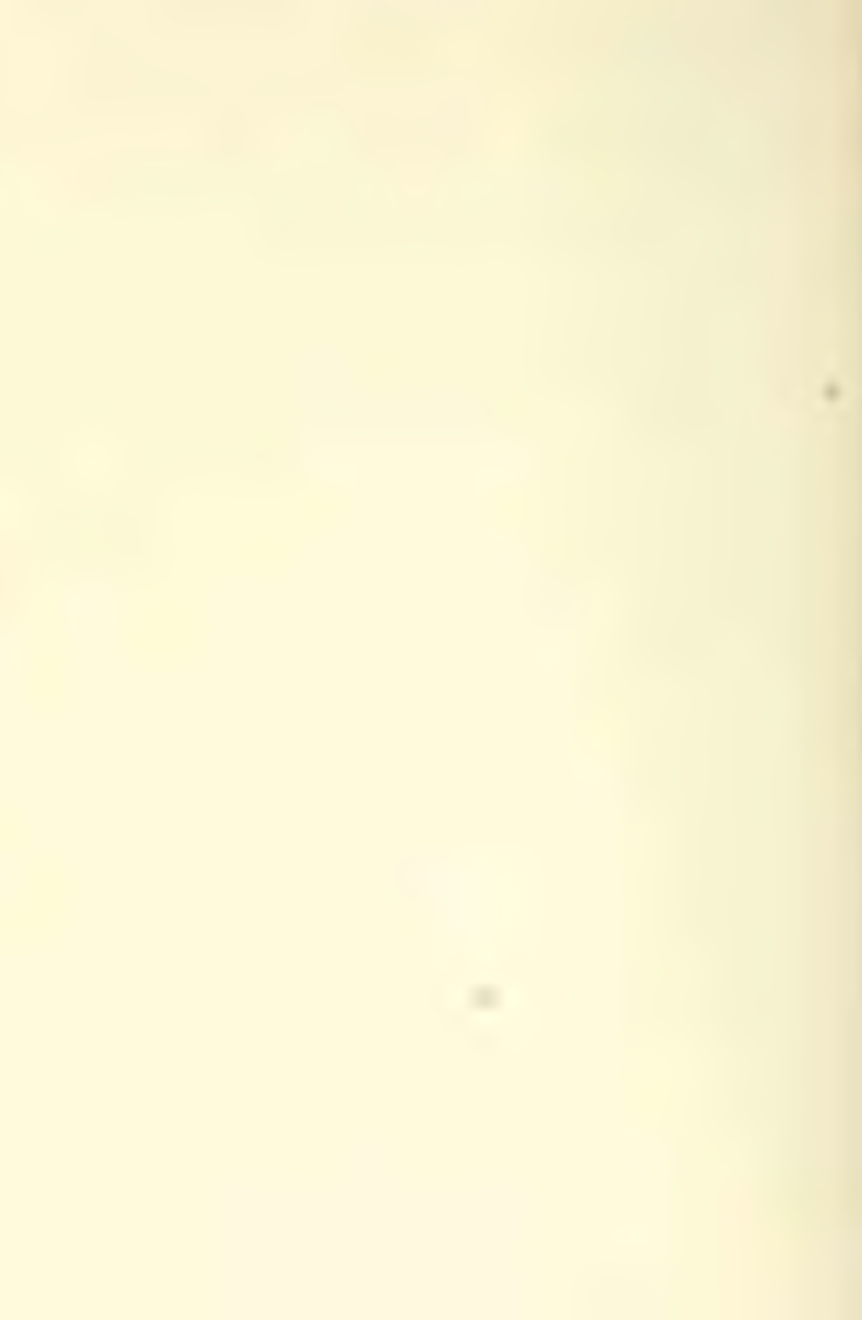
Many of Dr. Jackson's itineraries were tours of exploration, and to one unaccustomed to the immense areas covered by our Western territories, the most of them foot up an aggregate of distance which seems to be incredible.

Each of his trips to Montana, while a resident of Colorado, included a round of about 1,500 miles. Southward to Arizona, the round trip was fully 2,000 miles. During thirteen continuous years he travelled in the prosecution of his work 345,027 miles, an average each year of 26,540 miles. In 1876 he travelled by stage-coach from Colorado through New Mexico, Arizona and a portion of Southern California to the Pacific coast. In 1877 he journeyed in the same fashion from Utah northward through Idaho to Portland, Oregon.

While engaged in the purchase of reindeer for the government, 1890-1900, he made one trip to Petropavlovsk, the capital of Kamchatka, and thirty-two trips to North-eastern Siberia, eight of which were north of the Arctic Circle. On each of his twenty-six journeys to Alaska he travelled from 17,000 to 20,000 miles, and five times he accompanied the officers of the United States Revenue Cutter Service to Point Barrow, the northernmost settlement on the Western Continent. In one year, as already noted, he travelled 37,624 miles, crossing the Arctic

MAP OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING BY SHADED LINES THE
FIELDS OF SHELDON JACKSON'S LABORS FROM 1858-1908.





Circle in the summer on the Western Continent and in the winter following, the same circle—and going far beyond it—on the Eastern Continent.

The aggregate sum of all his journeyings in the interests of his work during the past half-century is but little short of one million miles !

The modes of travel on these journeys varied with the time, the circumstances and the habits of the people in the various sections of the country. In the early days of his ministry he travelled from point to point horseback or on foot, regarding himself as fortunate if he could get an occasional lift on his way in a neighbour's wagon or cutter. In later years, he journeyed, as he had opportunity, by rail and stage-coach, by buckboard and army ambulance, by lumber wagon and mule team and ox cart, by broncho and reindeer sledge, by freight and construction train : or on water routes by steamship and dug-out, by launch and canoe, revenue cutter, war vessel, schooner or cattle-ship.

With wonderful patience, persistency and self-denial he adapted himself to hardships, physical discomforts, the tortures of close confinement in cramped positions in stage-coaches or on buckboards, hemmed in with baggage on every side : or the companionship of rough, dissipated and reckless men. Some of these trips were continuous for five and six days and nights and one journey in a Mexican ox cart lasted through ten wearisome days—going and returning—of bumping and jolting over execrable roads or dimly outlined trails.

On these itineraries by land and sea, perils were oftentimes braved as well as discomforts endured. The dangers incident to travel in new and sparsely-settled countries were every-day experiences for years, but to these were added many of an extraordinary or unusual kind. One long summer day he held a rifle on his knee as the mule

teams which drew his coach raced between stockade forts, at intervals on the line, in momentary expectation of an attack from the savage Shoshones, who were known to be on the war-path in their immediate vicinity. Once he rode through a region in which hostile Apaches were murdering scores of defenseless people, escaping the scalping knife by a few hours only. A little later, on the return journey, he and his wife narrowly escaped death from a band of infuriated men whose friends had been murdered by the Apaches. At another time the steamer on which he was travelling was the target for the rifles of hostile Indians as it drew near the shore on the upper reaches of the Missouri River. Once there was only the touch of a finger between him and death as a dozen revolvers were pointed at him, and five times the stage-coach was robbed by highwaymen just before or after he had passed over the route. On one journey among the high mountains, the horses and the carriage in which he was riding went down over a precipice by a swift plunge, several hundred feet, into the bed of a stream ; while he escaped, not an instant too soon, by leaping out, as he realized the impending danger. At other times he was compelled to flee from prairie fires which threatened to cut him off from places of safety ; or from roaring flames which leaped from pine to pine along the slopes of the mountains.

There were perils also, seen and unseen, in crossing snowy ranges at altitudes varying from 10,000 to 13,000 feet ; perils in canoe voyages of hundreds of miles along the stormy coasts of Alaska, and perils of frequent occurrence amid the grinding ice-floes and treacherous ice-packs of the Arctic Ocean, where whaling vessels were crushed or wrecked every season. Three times while on these northward journeys the press dispatches reported the death of Dr. Jackson, and once his obituary was writ-

ten and published by the enterprising editor of the *Chicago Interior*.

The variety and extraordinary range of his activities may be summarized in part as follows:—

From 1869 to 1898 he prepared and delivered between 3,000 and 4,000 addresses in the interests of his work. In 1872 he established and for ten years edited the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* and at a later period established and edited the *North Star*. In 1880 he published a valuable work on Alaska and the missions on its North Pacific coast; and later a "Handbook on Alaska," which passed through several editions. Since 1881, he has made twenty-one annual reports on education in Alaska, and since 1890 sixteen reports on the introduction of domestic reindeer, both being government publications. He has also rendered efficient service in the executive committee of the International Sunday School Association; and at one time or another has held membership in forty or more religious, philanthropic, historical, or scientific societies. In addition to all this, as a necessary feature of his work, in its manifold phases and necessities, he has conducted an overwhelming amount of correspondence with individuals and societies.

On many of his long journeys and exploration tours, Dr. Jackson secured specimens of rare minerals, native pottery, wood and bone carving, curios, and handiwork of various kinds, characteristic of the different countries and nationalities within the range of his field of study and observation. The greater part of these valuable collections has been given to the Sheldon Jackson Museum of National History in Sitka, Alaska. Another collection, consisting of minerals and New Mexican pottery, was donated to the museum of Princeton University.

In connection with his field work Dr. Jackson organ-

ized the first Presbyterian churches in the territories of Wyoming, Montana, Utah, Arizona and Alaska ; assisted in organizing the Synods of St. Paul, Colorado, and Washington, and the Presbyteries of Chippewa, Southern Minnesota, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Utah and Alaska, having previously organized most of the churches comprising them. He has served also as a commissioner to *seven* General Assemblies ; as Moderator of the 109th Assembly and of the Synods of St. Paul and Colorado ; also as Stated Clerk of the Synod of Colorado and the Presbytery of Alaska. In 1879, and again in 1880, he was commissioned by the government to collect Indian children in New Mexico and Arizona and conduct them to the schools at Hampton and Carlisle. At later periods he served as special agent of the War Department for the purchase of reindeer in Lapland, and of the Agricultural Department in connection with a tour of exploration up the valley of the Yukon.

Some of the most important features of the field work which engaged his attention and drew heavily upon his time were the exploration of new and practically unknown fields ; preparing the ground in such places for occupancy ; harmonizing diverse elements and organizing them into churches or missions ; securing for them acceptable ministers ; counselling with reference to church sites and plans ; securing donations of land and funds for the erection of houses of worship ; establishing schools among the exceptional population ; strengthening, encouraging and supplying feeble churches ; enlisting sympathy and help from outside sources for needy fields and needy missionaries ; ministering to the sick and the dying and, as he had opportunity, preaching the Gospel in destitute and out-of-the-way places to which the missionary pastor had not yet come.

The results of this personal work are evident to-day, at

many points, within a magnificent and rapidly growing domain, which covers more than one-half the area of the entire territory of the United States.

About one hundred Presbyterian churches have been organized in this region as the direct result of his labour, and there are probably as many more which owe their origin and early development to his timely assistance and fostering care.

One who knew him intimately said in a recent address on "Union College in the Ministry" :—

Dr. Jackson's restless activity, ardent zeal, unflagging energy, and marvellous executive talent did wonders for the extension of religion and the organization of churches in the territories. He was pioneer, prospector, administrator, all in one. No man was more quick to see an opportunity, or more efficient to seize it. . . . There is little of our territory, from the Mississippi River to the Aleutian Islands, over which he has not travelled on religious and humanitarian errands, and the whole broad expanse is dotted with monuments of his wisdom and energy.¹

A striking exhibition of the progress of the Presbyterian Church in the "winning of the West" is given on the face of the map, prepared under Dr. Jackson's direction and oversight (page 92), which shows at a glance the line of frontier churches on our Western border in the year in which he entered upon his active labours.

In the immense area west of the Missouri River there were at that time but seven presbyteries, thirty-five ministers, thirty-one churches, and 1,019 communicants.

As a result of the prompt, courageous and timely work done by such inspired and inspiring leaders as Timothy Hill, Sheldon Jackson, George F. Whitworth, Thomas Fraser, Henry S. Little and their faithful, self-denying associates, there are now on this ground sixty-

¹ The late Dr. Teunis S. Hamlin, of Washington City, June 27, 1895.

four presbyteries, 1,401 ministers, 1,839 churches, and 125,000 communicant members.

In the nine states and three territories in which Dr. Jackson and his pioneer associates laboured, comprising Western Wisconsin, Southern Minnesota, Western Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, Montana, Southern Idaho, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Alaska, there have been organized six synods, thirty-one presbyteries, 886 churches, with 77,105 communicants. These churches have received 120,153 members on confession of faith and their offerings for missionary and other religious purposes have reached a sum total of \$20,364,475.

"This record," says Charles Halleck, a veteran editor and well-known writer, referring to Jackson's part in this great work, "is undoubtedly without a parallel in the history of man, not only in its religious and philanthropic aspects, but in the extent of the itinerary, the diversity of labour and the multifarious services rendered on the side of one's fellow man. Every region which Sheldon's feet have pressed has been blessed and benefited. His eleemosynary and executive work in Alaska was absolutely the chief corner-stone of its Christian civilization and good order, as well as the salvation of its natives, body and soul, and in more recent years the helpful promoter of material comfort and commercial dispatch (by his reindeer scheme), in the rigorous sub-Arctic winters.

"But his work for Alaska is only the half of a lifelong service for the betterment of man. For a quarter of a century, he was one of the chief factors in the making of the 'New West.' Keeping pace with the new settlers pouring into the farming regions, camping with the pioneers who laid out new railway centres, scaling the mountains and penetrating the cañons with the prospectors and miners, he everywhere rallied the friends of order and religion, of schools and temperance, of Sabbath

observance and good citizenship. While public sentiment was yet plastic he shaped it for weal and for civic righteousness, and left his impress upon that half of the United States which lies west of the Mississippi River.”¹

It has been said with truth that few men live to see themselves appreciated or their work rewarded as has Dr. Jackson. The statements and statistics above given are a sufficient proof of that assertion. He has encountered persistent opposition, endured the reproach of good men, who could not understand his motives or enter into his heroic conception of duty, and he has been hounded by evil men whose machinations he has thwarted, as few men in public life have ever been. But on the other hand, admitting freely such faults, mistakes and imperfections as are common to men in character and work, he has to a very high degree enjoyed the confidence of his fellow labourers, has won the hearts of not a few who once spoke slightly of him, and has endeared himself to multitudes, many of whom have never seen his face, for his work's sake and his persistent labours of love in the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. As he drew near the end of his half-century of labour he was made the guest of honour of the Presbyterian Ministerial Association of Philadelphia; of the New York Presbyterian Union; of the class of 1858, at the commencement of the Princeton Theological Seminary, and of the Presbytery of Albany, in which he was ordained to the gospel ministry fifty years ago.

Among all the kindly words of appreciation which were sent to him in the midst of his work, the truest, perhaps, to the life, have been the words already quoted, of Frances E. Willard:—a tribute as spontaneous as it was hearty and sincere—“You are one of my heroes.

¹ Formerly editor of *Forest and Stream*: author of recent monograph on Alaska.

You have stood for all our Gospel means, not in a luxurious parish or splendid college, but out yonder on the edge of things where God's most friendless children turn towards you the eyes of pathos and hope."

For this Christlike ministry, "on the edge of things," Sheldon Jackson will be remembered and honoured in all the days to come, as well as in this present time.

All honour to the noble men and women who seconded his efforts and aided him in this self-denying work ; for on their support he was, under God, dependent for success ; but to him will be given, as justly his due, the honour of leadership in its beginnings over a larger extent of territory than was ever committed to any missionary of the Cross since the days of the Apostle Paul.

If it be true that the sure index of advancing civilization is the extent to which it is pervaded by the influence of Christianity, the missionary of the frontier—the man with the Book—deserves much more of the nation and the writers of its history than he has ever received. It is certain, also, that there are many in the Church of to-day who have no adequate conception of the magnitude of the work which has been done by the veteran host, so rapidly passing away, who manned the outposts on the frontier in the latter half of the nineteenth century, "keeping pace with the new settlers, camping with the pioneers," roughing it with the miners, enduring daily privation, suffering and reproach, that the blessed evangel might be given to the regions beyond ; and that the evil influences already at the front might be supplanted and overcome by that which was elevating in its influence and saving in its power over heart and life, body and soul. It was given to these men who saw the vision of a better day afar to face imperial opportunities and meet unusual responsibilities, which staggered the mind and awed the

soul. Yet with strong faith and a lofty courage which have never been surpassed in the annals of the Church militant, they went forward battling for God and righteousness, with the brave motto on their banners :—"Our whole land for Christ;" and in the confident assurance of victory in the end. The history of the advance of our missionary vanguards from stage to stage, over frontier lines beset with perils at every step, if as fully written out as the history of the other great movements relating to the "winning of the West," would be one of the most thrilling and romantic stories of modern times. And to no single denomination, perhaps, of all those who had a part in this moral conquest of the land, has the Great Head of the Church given a nobler, wiser and more courageous band of leaders than to the denomination to which Sheldon Jackson belongs. A little more than a century ago the blue pennon of our time-honoured Church waved from the summit of the Alleghanies, while earnest men peered anxiously forward into the almost unknown regions beyond. In the opening decade of the century following, it reached the farthest limit of the "New West." It floats to-day over the summit of the Sierras and waves responses to embattled hosts of the army of occupation from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A well-known living preacher has said: "If the pulpit ever wears out, by much preaching, the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, we can find a new roll-call of heroes in the record of home missions. Nor is there any volume on chivalry or knight-errantry that will surpass these wondrous volumes." It is one of the hopeful signs of the times that the home mission studies of the young people of the Church are to be concentrated upon the lives of the missionary pioneers during the coming year. Than this, no course of studies could be more inspiring nor is there any other section of the history of the Church so full of stirring events, thrill-

ing adventures and splendid achievements as that which deals with these devoted men and the great work which they were privileged to do. With all that has been done in the past, there still remains very much land to be possessed.

There are moral wastes of vast extent within the limits of our presbyteries and synods beyond the Mississippi yet to be reclaimed. There are entrenched forces of evil, such as Mormonism, with its debasing bondage and blighting influence, paganism with its degrading forms of worship, anarchism and lawlessness, superstition and ignorance, yet to be met and conquered. Westward and northward, there are multitudes of our exceptional population yet to be reached and in the Southland a great host in the dark belts among ten million of the Negro race—in some respects the most needy and the most deserving of our sympathy and help of all the exceptional people of the land,—are *yet* to be reached and evangelized.

To-day we are facing a larger field of labour than the men of the nineteenth century faced,—a field into which the unevangelized of every nation are coming,—a field including every clime, as well as the men of every clime, from Alaska's icy mountains to the palm-decked islands of the sea. And still, as in the past, the magnitude of the work exceeds our ability to overtake it. "Oh, for more Jacksons," we may well pray, to follow up Jackson, "to build up what he began," and to lay the foundations of that which is new in other fields of labour, yet to be opened.

With the passing of the old-time frontier, associated as it has ever been with heroic deeds and romantic adventures,

"The old order changeth and yieldeth place to the new."

This has ever been the law of the kingdom, as well as the law of the natural world.

New issues must be met with new men and new methods, but it is also true and a grandly encouraging truth that that which has been done for God shall abide forevermore, bringing with it in its time a rich recompense of blessing in this world as well as in the world to come.

It is scarcely possible to conceive of a grander recompense to human efforts than that which has already followed as the direct result of the arduous, self-denying work of our missionaries on the frontier. Their achievements fill some of the brightest pages in the annals of the state, as well as of the Church ; and the transformations which they wrought, through the agency of the Holy Spirit, are as marvellous in their time and place, as were the Acts of the Apostles, under the same inspiring influence and guidance, nineteen centuries ago.

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IN the preparation of this work it was the purpose of the writer to tell the story of Sheldon Jackson's wonderful career of activity and achievement within the limits of the half century which followed his ordination and appointment to missionary service on the Western Frontier.

The record of these busy years closed with his retirement, in consequence of greatly impaired health, from all his official duties and responsibilities, in the spring of 1908.

It seems fitting, now that this faithful servant of Jesus Christ has finished his course and entered into the joy of his Lord, that mention should be made of some of the incidents which belong to the few remaining days of his earthly life.

After the acceptance of his resignation of the office of General Agent of Education for Alaska, which took effect on the 30th day of June, 1908, Dr. Jackson gave his attention to some details of his office work and private affairs which required his personal attention, with a view to setting his house in order, and in so far as was possible to perfect that which was still lacking in connection with his great life-work.

Busied with these matters he remained in Washington until midsummer, when he went with Mrs. Jackson to Gloucester, Mass., for an outing of two or three weeks by the sea. Returning by way of Amsterdam, N. Y., where a few days were pleasantly spent with relatives and friends, Mrs. Jackson was prostrated by a serious illness, which, notwithstanding every effort made to arrest it, resulted in

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her death. Accepting this sore trial of bereavement without murmuring as the ordering of the Heavenly Father, in whom he had learned to trust so fully and implicitly, he again took up the burden of service which seemed to be appointed for him, in the interests of the cause which was so close to his heart, and for which he had already laboured and suffered so much. In the month of October he attended the Indian Conference at Lake Mohonk, where he was always a welcome guest. He also made addresses by previous appointment at Minaville, N. Y., at New London, Lincoln University, and Oxford, Pennsylvania. In the last named place he delivered an impressive and long to be remembered address at the popular meeting held in connection with the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Synod of Pennsylvania.

From Oxford he went to Carlisle where he spoke on the same theme in the Second Presbyterian Church. Returning to Carlisle later in the season with his daughters, he spent the holidays in the home of his brother-in-law, Dr. George Norcross. At one of the services which was held in the Second Church he assisted in the baptism of eight Indian children. He was privileged to take part also in the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary—January 3, 1909—of the pastorate of Dr. Norcross.

In February he went to Asheville, North Carolina, for a brief season of recreation and rest. After two or three weeks' sojourn in this place he went back to Washington. On the third day of March he addressed the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Presbytery of Baltimore. The meeting was held in the city of Baltimore. On his return journey he was exposed to the rigours of the wintry storm which swept over that portion of the country and prevented the *public* inauguration of President Taft. The result of this exposure was a severe cold from which he

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never fully recovered. As soon as he was able to travel safely Dr. Jackson returned to Asheville. In the genial climate of this justly famed resort he seemed for a time to gain in strength and in some respects his physical condition was greatly improved.

On the 14th of April he delivered an address on Alaska before the Presbytery of French Board and the Woman's Presbyterial Society with something of his old-time earnestness and vigour. This was Sheldon Jackson's *last appeal* in behalf of the Home Mission cause, and all who were privileged to hear it were strangely moved and deeply impressed. Towards the close of the month of April his sufferings from the internal malady, which had so long distressed him, became more acute and it seemed to be necessary for him to submit to another operation. This was performed in the Merriwether hospital at Asheville on the 27th of April and from its effects he never recovered.

At the early dawning of the Sabbath, May 2d, his freed spirit passed from the cares and strifes and sorrows of this world to the better country where the inhabitants never say I am sick and all the weary ones find rest. "He made a brave effort to fight death," says Dr. Clarence G. Reynolds, pastor of the Asheville Church,—who watched by his bedside during his last moments,—"but as he felt the end was near he quietly told his nurse not to give him further stimulants. As she protested, and said the orders of the doctor were to give him his medicine, he replied, 'My orders are that I am not to take it. I am going to die.' Then, like a majestic liner passing beyond the horizon, he passed out of this life."

Impressive funeral services were held in the church at Asheville and in the Church of the Covenant of Washington City; and, at Minaville, N. Y., by the side of his faithful wife, the mortal remains of Sheldon Jackson

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were laid to rest, on the fifty-first anniversary of his ordination by the Presbytery of Albany.

Dr. Jackson was a commissioner from the Presbytery of Alaska to the General Assembly, appointed to meet in Denver on the 20th of May, 1909, and for several months before his death had been making arrangements for a reunion of the survivors of the pioneer missionaries, who had been associated with him throughout the Rocky Mountain section, in the early days of its settlement and development.

In this Assembly he will be missed because his seat will be empty, but it has seemed good to the Master whom he served to call him to a place in the "General Assembly and Church of the First-born, which are written in heaven."

Of him we may now confidently say :—

"Servant of Christ well done
Praise be thy new employ
And while eternal ages run
Rest, in the Saviour's joy."

*Lincoln University, Pa.,
May 7, 1909.*

APPENDIX

Some of those who were associated with Sheldon Jackson in pioneer work

ASSOCIATES AND HELPERS

(Group 1, facing page 28.)

1. Rev. Benjamin H. Pitman,* Pastor of Presbyterian Church, Esperance, N. Y. He admitted to the church on confession of faith Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Jackson, and baptized their children, Sheldon and Louise. 2. Rev. J. Trumbull Backus,* D. D., LL. D., forty-one years pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Schenectady, N. Y., 1832-73. Counsellor of Sheldon during his college days and led him to unite with the church of Esperance. 3. Rev. George F. Whitworth,* D. D., pioneer in Oregon and Washington, 1853-1907. Assisted in the organization of the First Presbyterian Church, Portland, Oregon, 1853, and was the first Presbyterian minister north of the Columbia River, 1854. 4. Mrs. E. T. Throop Martin.* Collected the money for the building of the missionary vessel *Morning Star*, 1856; organized the "Woman's Santa Fé Missionary Society," 1867; "The New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado Missionary Association," 1868; "The Ladies' Union Mission Association," 1879. 5. Mrs. James Lorimer Graham,* President of the New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado Missionary Association, 1868, and of the "Ladies' Board of Missions," 1870; also Vice-president of "The Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions." 6. Hon. James Sheakley, United States Commissioner at Wrangell, Alaska, 1887, Governor of Alaska, 1892-97. 7. John Eaton,* LL. D., Brevet Brigadier General, United States Volunteers (Civil War); United States Commissioner of Education, 1870-86. Interested in the education of Alaskan natives.

*Deceased.

8. William T. Harris, LL. D., a distinguished educator and active in the development of schools and the introduction of domesticated reindeer into Alaska. United States Commissioner of Education, 1889-1906. 9. Rev. John Louis French. Helpful in securing transportation. 10. Rev. Robert William Hill, D. D., Superintendent of Missions in the Northwest, 1878-81, and for Indian Territory and Oklahoma, 1887-95. 11. Rev. Samuel Ellis Wishard, D. D., Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions, Kentucky, 1883-87, and of Utah, 1890-1907. 12. Rev. Thomas Carter Kirkwood, D. D., Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions, Colorado, 1889-19—.

PIONEER PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES

(Group 2, facing page 85.)

Western Wisconsin.—1. Bradley Phillips,* 1849-77. 2. Wm. W. McNair,* D. D., 1849-65. 3. Stuart Mitchell,* D. D., 1855-68. 4. John Frothingham,* D. D., 1860-69. *Minnesota.*—5. Charles Thayer, D. D., 1855-89. 6. John C. Caldwell,* D. D., 1856-90. 7. Aaron H. Kerr,* D. D., 1857-90. 8. James Frothingham, 1860-65. 9. Robert Strong, 1861-65. 10. Wm. R. Mercer,* 1861-70. 11. George Ainslie,* 1862-85. 12. John L. Gage, 1862-69. 13. A. J. Stead,* 1867-1907. 14. R. B. Abbott, D. D., 1869-19—. *Iowa.*—15. John Armstrong,* D. D., 1865-77. 16. D. S. Tappan, D. D., LL. D., 1868-99. *Nebraska.*—17. J. T. Baird, D. D., 1864-19—. *Wyoming.*—18. Wm. G. Kephart,* 1869-73. 19. F. L. Arnold,* 1870-89. 20. Wm. F. Hamilton,* D. D., 1871-86.

PIONEER MISSIONARIES IN COLORADO

(Group 3, facing page 126.)

1. Lewis Hamilton,* 1859-81. 2. A. R. Day, 1862—. 3. C. M. Campbell, 1864. 4. E. P. Wells, 1868-75, 1882-87. 5. W. Y. Brown, D. D., 1870-86. 6. H. B. Gage, D. D., 1870-86. 7. J. G. Lowrie, D. D., 1871-86. 8. Robert Laird Stewart, D. D., S. C. Presbytery of Colorado, 1873-79. D. E. Finks, 1873-86.

*Deceased.

PIONEER PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES

(Group 4, facing page 193.)

Arizona.—1. Chas. H. Cook, D. D., 1870-19—. 2. J. A. Merrill, 1876-78. 3. Wm. Meyer, 1878-81. *Utah*.—4. M. Hughes,* 1869-70. 5. Josiah Welch,* 1871-77. 6. S. L. Gillespie,* 1874-96. 7. J. P. Schell, 1873-74. 8. J. M. Stevenson, D. D., 1881-19—. 9. J. M. Coyner,* 1875-85. 10. R. G. McNiece, D. D., 1877-19—. 11. Calvin Park,* 1878-86. 12. G. W. Martin, D. D., 1879-19—. 13. G. W. Leonard,* 1881-85. 14. Josiah McClain, 1885-19—. *Montana*.—15. L. B. Crittenden,* 1872-92. 16. Miss Mary G. Crittenden,* 1872-19—. 17. Wm. C. Rommell, 1872-76. 18. J. D. Hewitt,* D. D., 1876-79. 19. C. L. Richards, 1877-83. 20. M. L. Cook, 1877-82.

PIONEER MISSIONARIES

(Group 5, facing page 222.)

Colorado.—1. T. E. Bliss, D. D., 1871-19—. 2. J. F. Stewart, 1871-19—. 3. Alex. M. Darley. 4. W. P. Teitsworth, 1873-81. 5. J. L. Merritt, 1874-80. 6. G. M. Darley, D. D., 1876-19—. 7. J. M. Reid, Ph. D., 1877-19—. 8. H. L. Janeway, 1878-80. 9. W. C. Beebe, 1878. *New Mexico*.—10. D. F. McFarland,* 1866-74. 11. J. A. Annin,* 1869-80. 12. J. Menaul, 1870—. 13. J. M. Roberts,* 1872-82. 14. G. G. Smith, D. D., 1874-95. 15. W. W. Curtis, D. D., 1875-76. 16. H. K. Palmer,* 1877-78. 17. J. M. Shields, 1878-19—. *Oregon and Washington*.—18. R. M. Hayes, D. D., 1890-19—. *Nevada, Colorado and California*.—19. J. P. Egbert, D. D., 1873-76. 20. Elder Charles E. Walker.*

THE WOMAN'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS

(Group 6, facing page 256.)

1. Mrs. A. Green,* President, 1878-85. 2. Mrs. D. R. James, President, 1885-19—. 3. Mrs. F. E. Haines,* Secretary, 1878-86. 4. Mrs. M. E. Boyd, Treasurer, 1878-90. 5. Mrs. D. E. Finks, Secretary, 1886-92, Editor, 1886-92.

*Deceased.

19—. 6. Mrs. C. E. Walker, Secretary, 1886-89. 7. Mrs. Geo. Norcross, Vice-president, 1878-19—. 8. Mrs. Wm. Thaw, 1878. 9. Mrs. W. N. Paxton, Secretary, 1878. 10. Mrs. S. F. Scovel,* Vice-president, 1878-98. 11. Mrs. J. McNair Wright,* 1878. 12. Mrs. Kate P. Bryan,* Vice-president.

BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

(Group 7, facing page 283.)

1. T. L. Janeway,* D.D., Secretary, 1862-68. 2. Henry Kendall,* D.D., Secretary, 1861-92. 3. Cyrus Dickson,* D.D., Secretary, 1870-81. 4. Wm. C. Roberts,* D.D., LL. D., Secretary, 1881-86, 1892-98. 5. Wm. Irvin, D.D., Secretary, 1887-93. 6. D. J. McMillan, D.D., Secretary, 1890-98. 7. C. L. Thompson, D.D., LL.D., Secretary, 1898-19—. 8. O. D. Eaton,* Treasurer, 1874-97. 9. G. L. Spining, D.D. 10. H. R. Wilson,* D.D., Secretary (Church Erection), 1869-86. 11. D. C. Lyon,* D.D., Superintendent, Wisconsin, 1858, and Minnesota and Dakota, 1867-85. 12. J. W. Allen,* D.D., Superintendent, Missouri, 1873-80. 13. T. Hill,* D.D., Superintendent, Kansas, 1868-87. 14. T. Fraser,* D.D., Superintendent, Pacific Coast, 1868-87. 15. G. L. Little,* D.D., Superintendent, Nebraska, 1878-83. 16. H. S. Little,* D.D., Superintendent, Texas, 1879-1906.

PIONEER PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES IN ALASKA

(Group 8, facing page 315.)

1. Mrs. A. R. McFarland, 1877-98. 2. J. G. Brady, 1878-1906. 3. S. H. Young, D.D., 1878-88, 1897-19—. 4. A. E. Austin, 1879-98. 5. E. S. Willard, 1881-94. 6. Mrs. Willard, 1881-94. 7. J. L. Gould, 1882-19—. 8. J. F. McFarland,* 1882-93. 9. Wm. A. Kelly, 1886-19—. 10. S. A. Saxman,* 1886-87. 11. L. F. Jones, 1892-19—. 12. Miss Esther Gibson, 1894-19—. 13. V. C. Gambell,* 1894-98. 14. J. H. Condit, 1896-19—. 15. H. R. Marsh, 1897-19—. 16. S. R. Spriggs, 1899-19—. 17. E. O. Campbell, 1899-19—. 18. J. W. Kirk, 1899-1906. 19. P. McKay,* (Clah) native. 20. Rev. Edward Marsden (native).

*Deceased.

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